THE ORIGINAL WORKS IN VERSE AND PROSE OF DR. WILLIAM KING.

VOLUME I.

THE ORIGINAL WORKS
OF
WILLIAM KING, LL. D.
ADVOCATE OF DOCTORS COMMONS;
JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY AND KEEPER OF THE RECORDS IN IRELAND, AND VICAR GENERAL TO THE LORD PRIMATE.

NOW FIRST COLLECTED INTO THREE VOLUMES:
WITH HISTORICAL NOTES, AND MEMOIRS OF THE AUTHOR.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

His eye was keen,
With ſweetneſs aptly mix'd.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR; AND SOLD BY N. CONANT, SUCCESSOR TO MR. WHISTON, IN FLEET-STREET.
MDCCLXXVI.

TO

THE PHILANTHROPIST,

WHO READS WITH A DISPOSITION TO BE PLEASED;

AND SUCH IS THE PATRON

OUR AUTHOR WOULD HIMSELF HAVE CHOSEN;

THESE VOLUMES ARE INSCRIBED,

IN FULL CONFIDENCE OF

THEIR MEETING WITH A LIBERAL PROTECTION,

THOUGH USHERED INTO THE WORLD BY

AN ANONYMOUS EDITOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor of theſe Miſcellanies will not treſpaſs on the Reader's patience by expatiating on their value. The peculiar vein of humour which diſtinguiſhed Dr. King, receiving freſh graces from the benevolence of his heart, as it ſecured him the eſteem of ſome of the beſt and greateſt of his contemporaries, needs no better recommendation than an appeal to his Writings. From the ſcattered manner, however, in which they have been hitherto publiſhed, but few of his admirers have been able to obtain a complete copy. That inconvenience is here remedied; and ſome pieces are preſerved, which, though they add greatly to our Author's reputation, were in danger of being loſt to the world.

For the NOTES, indeed, ſome apology may be expected: yet the Editor will rather truſt to the candour of the Reader, whoſe convenience he hath endeavoured to conſult, than meanly aſk for applauſe under a pretence of pointing out their defects. If, in ſome few inſtances, he hath ſaid too much, let it be under-

ſtood as his idea, that every book ſhould contain within itſelf its neceſſary explanation; and if (by giving in the compaſs of a few lines ſome dates or intereſting events in the life of a remarkable perſon) the Reader is ſaved the trouble of ſearching through many volumes, he flatters himſelf he hath performed a ſervice not wholly unacceptable.

March 30, 1776.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF DR. KING.

OUR Author was the ſon of Ezekiel King, gentleman, of London; and had the honour of being allied to the noble houſes of Clarendon and Rocheſter [a]. He was born in 1663, bred with the ſtricteſt care from infancy, and, at a proper age placed, as a king's ſcholar, under the tuition of Dr. Buſby, at Weſtminſter ſchool; where his natural good talents received ſuch improvements from cultivation, as might be expected from ſo admirable a maſter. From Weſtminſter he was elected to Chriſt Church, Oxford; and admitted a ſtudent there, in Michaelmas term, 1681, at eighteen years of age [b]. Happy in this ſituation, he made uſe of the advantages it gave him. He had a ſtrong propenſity to letters; and of thoſe valuable treaſures he daily increaſed his ſtock.

Early in life, Mr. King became poſſeſſed of a ſmall paternal eſtate in Middleſex. From his occaſionally mentioning "his tenants in Northampton and Leiceſterſhire [c]," his Biographers have ſuppoſed him to have been a land-holder alſo in thoſe counties; but, as we have no other authority for

[a] In his Adverſaria, p. 261, of this volume, he calls lord Harcourt his couſin; and ſee what he ſays, p. 244, of his great grandfather.

[b] Wood, Ath.Ox. vol. II. col. 1064.

[c] See p. 50, of this volume.

ſuch a ſuppoſition, it appears of little weight. They are mentioned only as *inland* places, and therefore adding greater ſtrength to the ridicule that paſſage throws on Mr. Moleſworth.

From the circumſtance, however, of his going out Compounder[d] when he took his firſt degree, it is plain that he had a tolerable fortune, which enabled him to indulge his genius and inclination in the choice and method of his ſtudies; ranging freely and at large through the pleaſant fields of polite literature, and raviſhed with the ſweet purſuit, he proſecuted it with incredible diligence and aſſiduity.

He took his firſt degree in arts, Dec. 8, 1685; proceeded regularly to M. A. July 6, 1688; and the ſame year commenced Author.

A religious turn of mind, joined to the warmeſt regard for the honour of his country, prompted him to reſcue the character and name of Wickliffe, our firſt Reformer, from the calumnies of Monſ. Varillas. The thing had been publicly requeſted alſo, as a proper undertaking for ſuch as were at leiſure, and would take the trouble. Mr. King, therefore, deeming himſelf to be thus called forth to the charge, readily entered the liſts; and, with a proper mixture of wit and learning, handſomely expoſed the blunders of that French author, in "Reflections upon Monſ. Varillas's Hiſtory of "Hereſy, Book I. Tom. I. ſo far as relates to Engliſh mat-"ters, more eſpecially thoſe of Wickliffe[e]."

About this time, having fixed on the Civil Law for his profeſſion, he entered upon that line in the Univerſity.

In 1690, he tranſlated, from the French of Monſieur and Madame Dacier, "The Life of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, "the Roman Emperor; together with ſome ſelect Remarks "on the ſaid Antoninus's Meditations concerning himſelf, "treating of a natural Man's Happineſs, &c. as alſo upon "the Life of Antoninus[f]."

About the ſame time he wrote "A Dialogue ſhewing the way to Modern Preferment[g];" a droll ſatire, which contains

[d] Wood, Faſti, vol. II. p. 226.

[e] Mr. Edward Hannes, another young ſtudent of Chriſt Church, had alſo a hand in this tract, which is the firſt in the preſent collection. See vol. III. p. 296.

[f] Athen. Ox. ubi ſuprà.

[g] Printed in vol. I. p. 182.

ſome

ſome ſolid truths, under the diſguiſe of a converſation between three illuſtrious perſonages; the Tooth-drawer to Cardinal Porto Carero, the Corn-cutter to Pope Innocent XI, and the Receiver General to an Ottoman Mufti.

July 7, 1692, he took his degree of Bachelor and Doctor in Laws; and Nov. 12, that year, by the favour of Dr. Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, obtained a *Fiat*, which, admitting him an Advocate at Doctor's Commons, enabled him to plead in the Courts of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law.

In 1693, he publiſhed a tranſlation of "New Manners "and Characters of the two great Brothers, the Duke of "Bouillon and Mareſchal Turenne, written in French by "James de Langlade, Baron of Saumieres." The Tranſlator's Dedication, to his "honoured friend Sir Edmund "Warcup," is printed in this collection[h].

Either in this or early in the following year, appeared a very extraordinary *morçeau*, under the title of "An Anſwer "to a Book, which will be publiſhed next week, intituled, "A Letter to the Reverend Dr. South, upon occaſion of a "late Book, intituled Animadverſions on Dr. Sherlock's "Book, intituled, A Vindication of the Holy and Ever-"bleſſed Trinity. Being a Letter to the Author." What effect this had in favour of Dr. South, may be ſeen in Dr. King's own words[i].

In Auguſt 1694, Mr. Moleſworth publiſhing his "Ac-"count of Denmark as it was in the year 1692," our Author took up his pen once more in his country's cauſe, the honour of which was thought to be blemiſhed by that account; Mr. Scheel, the Daniſh Miniſter, having preſented a memorial againſt it[k]. Animated with this ſpirit, he drew up a cenſure of it, which he printed in 1694, under the title of "Animadverſions on the pretended account of Den-"mark[l]." This was ſo much approved by Prince George, conſort to the Princeſs Anne, that the Doctor was ſoon after appointed ſecretary to her Royal Highneſs[m].

[h] Vol. III. p. 288.
[i] Vol. I. p. 219.
[k] See vol. I. p. 59.
[l] Vol. I. p. 35.
[m] Ath. Ox. vol. II. col. 914.

It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Mr. Moleſworth's book underwent another examination, the ſame year, in "Denmark vindicated, being an Anſwer to a late "Treatiſe, called, An Account of Denmark as it was in "the year 1692, ſent from a Gentleman in the Country to "his Friend in London." This Writer, who dedicates to Prince George, and ſigns himſelf J. C. D. has taken up the matter in a very ſerious point of view, and left the whole field of pleaſantry and ridicule to Dr. King, which, in his able hands, appears to have been the moſt ſucceſsful method of attack.

In 1697, he took a ſhare with his fellow-collegians at Chriſt Church, in the memorable diſpute about the genuineneſs of Phalaris's Epiſtles. His firſt appearance in that controverſy was owing to his being accidentally preſent at a converſation between Dr. Bentley and Mr. Bennet the bookſeller, concerning the MS. of Phalaris in the King's Library. Mr. Boyle, when anſwering Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation, applied to our Author for the particulars of what paſſed on that occaſion; which he received in the ſhort but expreſſive Letter [n] which Mr. Boyle has printed in his book, in 1698 [o], with the

[n] Vol. I. p. 141.

[o] As few controverſial pieces were ever written in finer language, or more artfully, than this "Examination;" ſo none perhaps ever abounded ſo much in wit, ridicule, and ſatire; the point being not ſo much to confute, as to expoſe, the learned Diſſertator: for Mr. Boyle, in his Preface to the "Epiſtles of "Phalaris," had ſignified his own diſtruſt of their genuineneſs, and, in effect, declared himſelf very indifferent about it. Bentley, on the other hand, who had nothing in view but to ſupport what he had aſſerted, by proving the Epiſtles ſpurious, though he is far from being deſtitute of ſtrokes of humourous ſatire, abounded chiefly in argument and erudition; and by theſe gained over all the Reaſoners and the Learned, while the Laughers, who make an infinite majority, were carried away by the art of Mr. Boyle's performance. In ſhort, though the haughtineſs, the inſolence, the rude temper, and pedantry, of Dr. Bentley, made him juſtly odious; yet, to give him his due, his "Diſſertation on the "Epiſtles of Phalaris," with his anſwer to the objections of Mr. Boyle, is one of the moſt illuſtrious monuments of ſagacity, nice diſcernment, ſkill in criticiſm, and depth of erudition, that ever was erected by a man of letters. If, to uſe the words of Mr. Boyle,

the teſtimonies of Mr. Bennet and Mr. Gibſon (who had been employed as the Collator). Stung by theſe ſtubborn facts, Dr. Bentley, in the enlarged edition of his Diſſertation, 1699, endeavoured to invalidate their force, by an attempt to weaken the credibility of the witneſſes. On Dr. King, in particular, he has condeſcended to beſtow near eight pages of his Preface, a ſhort ſpecimen of which is annexed to the Letter we have laſt referred to. In a ſecond letter to Mr. Boyle[p], our Author, with great modeſty, refutes the groundleſs calumny, and proves that Dr. Bentley himſelf has confirmed his teſtimony in every particular, but the having omitted the great Critic's beautiful ſimilitude of "a ſqueezed orange."

In the progreſs of the controverſy[q], Dr. King publiſhed his "Dialogues of the Dead[r]," written (as he ſays) "in ſelf-"defence," and replete with that admirable ſpecies of banter which was his peculiar talent, and which muſt have abundantly mortified his adverſary's vanity. How much Dr. King had this controverſy at heart, may be ſeen by the various Memoranda concerning it which are ſcattered up and down his works[s].

At the end of 1698, or early in 1699, came out "A "Journey to London in the year 1698, after the ingenious "Method of that made by Dr. Martin Liſter the ſame "year[t];" which he deſigned as a vindication of his country. This was a ſpecimen of that particular humour in which he

Boyle, in the Preface to his "Examination," he did "carry his "criticiſm ſo far as to aſſert, not only of Phalaris, but of his "Editor alſo, that they neither of them wrote what was aſcribed "to them," he went no farther than the diſcerning, unprejudiced, and learned part of the public went with him. What ſhare Mr. Boyle had in the edition of Phalaris, which no doubt he was put upon to raiſe a little reputation in letters, is not eaſy to determine: but many are of opinion, that the "Examination," though publiſhed with his name, was in reality no part of it his. It was then, and has ſince been, generally aſcribed to Dean Aldrich, Dr. Atterbury, Dr. John Freind, Dr. Smallridge, and other wits of Chriſt Church, who contributed their quotas in this work, for the ſake of humbling the redoubtable Bentley, whom they heartily hated.

[p] Vol. I. p. 142.

[q] Of which ſee ſome account, vol. I. p. 135, and vol. III. p. 296.

[r] Vol. I. p. 144.

[s] Particularly in the Adverſaria.

[t] Vol. I. p. 187.

excelled,

excelled, and the charms of which proved irreſiſtible. A Writer, it muſt be allowed, is not always the moſt unexceptionable judge of his own productions. But it is plain that Dr. King thought it better than any of his former works, as he frequently wrote afterwards under the name of "The "Author of the Journey to London."

It has been pretty generally allowed, that Dr. King, though he could not endure his buſineſs as an Advocate, made an excellent Judge in the Court of Delegates, as often as he was called to that Bench [u]. The fatigue, however, of a Civilian's duty was too great for his natural indolence; and he retired to his ſtudent's place at Chriſt Church, to indulge his predominant attachment at better leiſure.

From this time, giving way to that *fuga negotii* ſo incident to the poetical race, he paſſed his days in the purſuit of the ſame raviſhing images, which, being aptly moulded, came abroad in manuſcript, in the form of pleaſant tales and other pieces in verſe, at various times, as they happened to be finiſhed. Many of theſe he afterwards collected, and publiſhed them, together with ſome other pieces, in his "Miſcel-"lanies," prefixing this remark in the Preface concerning them: "The remaining papers which are here muſt ſeek "their fate: they were abroad in manuſcript; and I hope "will not have harder fortune now they are in print than "they had in the opinion of ſome friends before they were "ſo."

In 1700, he publiſhed, without a name, a ſevere ſatire on the credulity of Sir Hans Sloane, intituled, "The Tran-"ſactioneer [w], with ſome of his Philoſophical Fancies, in "two Dialogues." The irony in this tract is admirable; and it muſt be acknowledged, notwithſtanding the deſervedly high character of that great phyſician and able naturaliſt, that our Author has in many places diſcovered the vulnerable heel

[u] All appeals from the Eccleſiaſtical and Admiralty Courts are (agreeably to Stat. 25 Hen. VIII.) determined by a Court of Delegates, conſiſting of three Common-law Judges, and five Civilians; from whoſe ſentence there is no further appeal: but, upon good reaſons aſſigned, the Lord Chancellor may grant a commiſſion of review. All the Advocates reſiding in Doctors Commons, are occaſionally members of this high court, his Majeſty's commiſſion uſually ſelecting them in rotation.

[w] Printed in vol. II. p. 1. See the Preface prefixed to it.

of

of Achilles, and that his ſatirical obſervations are well founded. Theſe reflections, however ſevere they may fall on the Secretary, extend not to the reſpectable body on which, at firſt view, they may appear to glance. The "Tranſactions," from the beginning to the year 1751, were always conſidered as the publication of the reſpective Secretaries; and even ſince that period, the Society, as a body, diſclaims, in a public advertiſement, the being accountable for any particular paper which may appear in the work. It is acknowledged, that, ſince their incorporation, April 22, 1663, the Royal Society has made a much greater progreſs in true natural knowledge, than had before been made from the beginning of the world. They have carried their reſearches into every part of the creation, and have ſtill diſcovered new wonders. It is true their minute enquiries have been occaſionally the ſubject of ridicule, as the beſt writings are ſaid to be the propereſt ſubjects for burleſque; but ſcoffers ſhould conſider, that the wings of the butterfly were painted by the ſame Almighty hand that made the ſun [x].

Early in 1701, Dr. King was re-called to the buſy ſcenes of life. His friend James the third earl of Angleſea (who had ſucceeded to that title April 1, 1690), married, Oct. 28, 1699, the lady Catharine Darnley, natural daughter to King James II, by Catharine counteſs of Dorcheſter [y], and had by her one daughter. After living together little more than one year, a diſpute aroſe between them, which ended not but in a ſeparation. Lord Angleſea ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Dr. King; and the force of friendſhip prevailed over his natural averſion to the wrangling of the bar. He complied with the requeſt; took abundant pains for his old friend, more than he was ever known to do; and made ſuch a figure in the Earl's defence, as ſhewed him to have had abilities in his profeſſion equal to any occaſion that might call for them, and effectually eſtabliſhed his reputation in the character of a Civilian, as he had already done in that of a polite Writer. His Biographers having been regularly miſtaken in mentioning of this circumſtance, by ſuppoſing it to have happened *after* his return from Ireland in 1708; we ſhall add here a few dates, to aſcertain the preciſe period. Feb. 25,

[x] See Mr. Granger's "Biographical Hiſtory," vol. I. p. 81; a work to which we gratefully acknowledge many obligations.

[y] Of whom, ſee vol. III. p. 74; and Granger, vol. IV. p. 330.

1700-1, the counteſs petitioned the upper houſe of parliament, "that her lord might waive his privilege, or that ſhe "might have leave to bring in a bill of ſeparation, for his "cruelty." Two days after, their lordſhips were pleaſed to direct the earl of Rocheſter, lord Ferrers, lord Haverſham, and lord Somers, to go to the lady Angleſea, and endeavour to perſuade her to return to her huſband, and to let her know that the earl declared he was ready to receive her, and, upon her ſubmiſſion and good behaviour, would treat her with kindneſs; and that, in all caſes, ſhe ſhould be ſafe from any violence. March 3, the earl of Rocheſter gave the houſe an account of their friendly negotiation; which in the end proved fruitleſs. The ſame day, leave was given to bring in a bill for their ſeparation; againſt which lord Haverſham [z] ſingly

[z] John Thompſon, eſq; of Haverſham in Buckinghamſhire, through the influence of his father, who had taken up arms againſt the royal party in the civil war, was bred in republican principles, which took deep root in him from his acquaintance with Thomas lord Wharton; who introduced him to the friendſhip and eſteem of Arthur Anneſley, the firſt earl of Angleſea of that name, then lord privy ſeal; a great favourer of the Diſſenters, and whoſe daughter Mr. Thompſon married. This match brought him into the good graces of Charles II, who would have preferred him, but that he found him unwilling to comply with the court meaſures. However, he was created a baronet in 1673; but refuſed a place. In parliament he was a conſtant oppoſer of arbitrary meaſures, and a ſtrenuous promoter of the excluſion bill. In 1688, he was one of the firſt who ſigned the aſſociation, and was afterwards much conſulted by king William. In 1696, he was created baron of Haverſham, and made one of the lords of the admiralty; in which poſt he continued till March 1701; when, the earl of Pembroke being appointed lord high admiral, he was ſo diſguſted, that he took every opportunity of oppoſing the court. On the death of king William, he was deſirous of being well with the new miniſtry; but, not finding any good effects from his viſits to them, continued in oppoſition. In 1706, he was violent againſt the Union. In 1707, he became a conſtant communicant of the eſtabliſhed church, occaſioned, as was ſaid, by the rigid Preſbyterian miniſters refuſing him the ſacrament for living in too great familiarity in his firſt lady's time with his houſekeeper Mrs. Graham, whom he married in May 1709. In 1709-10, he made a ſpeech in defence of Sacheverell and the church; and ſoon after had the ſatisfaction to ſee a total change of the miniſtry which he had ſo warmly oppoſed.—He died Nov. 1, 1710-11.

entered

entered a ſpirited proteſt, from arguments ſuggeſted by the Civilians; moſt probably from Dr. King, on whom lord Angleſea ſo much depended. The bill was brought in, March 6; and, after repeated hearings of counſel, civilians, and witneſſes, and a ſolemn declaration from the counteſs, "that "ſhe thought her life would be in danger if ſhe ſhould again "live with the earl," it was paſſed, April 29, 1701; agreed to by the commons, May 14; and received the royal aſſent, June 12. The earl died Jan. 21, 1701-2; and his lady was a ſecond time married, March 1, 1705, to John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham and Normanby, who had before had two wives. She died March 13, 1742-3: her character, which is ſomewhat extraordinary, and is ſaid to have been written by herſelf, may be ſeen in Mr. Pope's works, vol. VIII.

Notwithſtanding the reputation acquired by Dr. King in the progreſs of lord Angleſea's cauſe, a cauſe which demonſtrated his ſhining abilities; it muſt be acknowledged, he never afterwards attained any ſtriking eminence in a profeſſion where conſtant aſſiduity and a long courſe of years are requiſites for the acquiſition of fame. Captivated by the Muſes, he neglected buſineſs, and, by degrees, as is natural to ſuch tempers, began to dread and abhor it. Heedleſs of thoſe neceſſary ſupplies which a due attention would actually have brought to his finances, they were ſo much impaired by his neglect, and by the gay courſe of life which he led, that he gladly accepted the offer of preferment in Ireland; a ſure ſign that his *practice* was then not very conſiderable, as he is perhaps the only Civilian that ever went to reſide in Ireland after once having experienced the emoluments of a ſettlement in Doctors Commons.

The exact period of his quitting this kingdom cannot now be aſcertained. It has been generally ſuppoſed that he went with lord Pembroke, who was appointed lord lieutenant in April 1707. But he was certainly in Ireland much earlier, as we have a correct copy of "Mully of Mountown," in 1704[c], from the Author himſelf, with a complaint that, *before that time*, ſome ſpurious copies had crept into the world. It is probable, therefore, that his preferment was owing to the united intereſts of the earl of Rocheſter, his relation,

[c] Printed in vol. III. p. 203.—The "Remarks on the Tale of "a Tub," (vol. I. p. 209) and "Orpheus and Eurydice," (vol. III. p. 207) were firſt publiſhed at the ſame time.

(lord-

lord-lieutenant of Ireland from Dec. 12, 1700, to Feb. 4, 1702-3), and his noble patron the earl of Pembroke (lord high admiral of England and Ireland from Jan. 18, 1701-2 to May 1702). If this conjecture be allowed, the date is fixed clearly to the beginning of 1702, and the thread of the hiſtory is properly connected [d].

Dr. King was now in a new ſcene of action. He was judge of the high court of admiralty in Ireland, ſole commiſſioner of the prizes, and keeper of the records in Birmingham's Tower. The latter, indeed, was rather a matter of honour than of profit; the ſalary being at that time but ten pounds a year, though afterwards advanced to four hundred. He had likewiſe the happineſs of being appointed vicar general to the lord primate, Dr. Narciſſus Marſh.

With theſe honours he was well received and countenanced by perſons of the higheſt rank, and might have made his fortune if the change of climate could have wrought a change in his diſpoſition. But ſo far was he from forming any deſign to heap up riches, or of treaſuring up any of that money which was now in a manner thrown into his lap, that he returned to England with no other treaſure than a few merry poems and humourous eſſays.

During his reſidence in Ireland, he entered into a particular friendſhip with Judge Upton [e], who was entirely of a congenial diſpoſition with himſelf, delighting in retirement and poetical amuſements. This gentleman having a beautiful villa, called Mountown, a ſmall diſtance from Dublin, Dr. King ſpent moſt of his time there; neglecting all his buſineſs, ſeldom attending the duties of his offices, and forgetting even to pay his court to the lord lieutenant. So much was he delighted with his indolent retirement and melan-

[d] By Chamberlayne's "Preſent State for 1706," we find Dr. King was actually in his offices in Ireland in 1705; and, could a copy of that work of a little *earlier* date be conſulted, we have no doubt but it would confirm what is above advanced.

[e] Mr. Ambroſe Upton, of a good family in Devonſhire, who was educated at Oxford, and ejected for being a Nonconformiſt, and who afterwards retired into Ireland ſeems to have been the judge's father; and Henry Upton, eſq; the preſent regiſter of the court of delegates in Ireland, and deputy regiſter of the prerogative court, is probably of the ſame family.

choly

choly companion, that he ſeemed to have no other wiſh than of living and dying with his beloved Mully, the Red Cow that gave him milk, and the ſubject of an admirable Poem[f]; which, at that time, the Critics would have impoſed upon the world for a *political allegory*, the remoteſt from the Doctor's intention of any thing they could have deviſed. But he would hardly think of attempting to undeceive them. The celebrated "Rape of the Lock" was, in 1711, allegorized in the ſame manner by a Critic (Mr. Pope himſelf), who, aſſuming as a *poſtulatum*, that *the Lock* was the *Barrier Treaty*, made out all the reſt of the allegory very clearly and unexceptionably. Dr. King's poem, however, in fact, was no more than a grateful expreſſion of the happineſs he felt in his ſequeſtered ſituation, buried alive, as it were, with his beloved Mully.

On the 25th of November, 1708, the earl of Wharton was appointed lord lieutenant; and his ſecretary, Mr. Addiſon, immediately on his arrival in Ireland, was made keeper of the records. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, therefore, that Dr. King returned from that kingdom about the end of 1708.

On his re-ſettlement at London, he almoſt immediately gave the world thoſe admirable inſtances of the humour ſo peculiarly his own, by publiſhing the eſſays, diſtinguiſhed by the title of "Uſeful Tranſactions in Philoſophy and other "ſorts of Learining;" the firſt number of which was for the months of January and February, 1708-9[g]; the ſecond, for March and April[h]; the third, for May, June, July, and Auguſt[i]. It is needleſs to give here an enumeration of the particular Eſſays, as they may be ſeen in the Table of Contents[k]; but we ſhall juſt mention, that the laſt of them, "containing "a Voyage to the Iſland of Cajamai in America, giving a "brief Account of the Natural Rarities, Inhabitants, and "Diſeaſes of the Country, together with their Cures, after "the method uſed by Jaſper Van Slonenbergh, &c." is ſaid to be "one of the ſevereſt and merrieſt ſatires that ever was "written in proſe."

He now employed himſelf in finiſhing his "Art of Love, "in imitation of Ovid *De Arte Amandi*[l], with a Preface

[f] Vol. III. p. 203. [g] Vol. II. p. 59. [h] P. 92.
[i] P. 132. [k] P. 307. [l] Vol. III. p. 103.

"containing

" containing the Life of Ovid;" and a Dedication to Lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Pembroke. This is ſuch an imitation, that the Imitator and his Author ſtand much upon the ſame terms as Ben does with his Father in the Comedy [m], " What thof he be my Father, I am not bound " prentice to him!" The Doctor's virtuous diſpoſition is no where more remarkably diſtinguiſhed than in this piece; wherein both the ſubject and the example ſo naturally lead into ſome leſs chaſte images, ſome looſer love which ſtands in need of a remedy. But there is no occaſion for any remedy to be preſcribed for the love here treated of, unleſs it be the ſpeedy obtaining of what it deſires, ſince it is all prudent, honourable, and virtuous. It is divided into fourteen books, moſt of them ending with ſome remarkable fable and intereſting novel.

In 1709, he alſo publiſhed his moſt ingenious Poem, " The " Art of Cookery, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry; " with ſome Letters to Dr. Liſter and others, occaſioned " principally by the Title of a Book publiſhed by the Doctor, " being the Works of Apicius Cælius [n], concerning the Soups " and Sauces of the Ancients. With an Extract of the " greateſt Curioſities contained in that Book [o]." Among the Letters is one, upon the *dentiſcalps*, or toothpicks, of the Ancients [p]. Another contains a fine imitation of Horace, Book I. Ep. V. being his Invitation of Torquatus to ſupper [r].— And a third contains remarks upon " The Lawyer's Fortune, " or Love in a Hollow Tree," a Comedy by Lord Grimſton [h]. Neither the Poem nor any of theſe Letters has a date; nor has " The Art of Love." Whether we ſhould impute this to our Author's indolence, or to affectation (for he has treated ſuch exactneſs in his " Dialogues of the Dead [s]" with ſome contempt), is uncertain; but he carried it to great exceſs. Even the volume of " Miſcellanies," which he collected himſelf, is without a date, either in the general title-page, or in that of any particular tract. The circumſtances point out

[m] See Congreve's Love for Love.

[n] " De Opſoniis ſive Condimentis, ſive Arte Coquinaria, " Libri Decem. *Amſtelod.* 1709."

[o] Vol. III. p. 41.

[p] P. 47. [q] P. 52. [r] P. 65.

[s] Vol. I. p. 149.

the

the true time of moſt of them; but that is not the caſe with "The Furmetary," or with any of the ſmaller Poems.

On the third of Auguſt, 1710, appeared the firſt number of *The Examiner*, the ableſt vindication of the meaſures of the Queen and her new Miniſtry. "About a dozen of theſe "papers," Dr. Swift tells us [t], "written with much ſpirit and "ſharpneſs, ſome by Secretary St. John, ſince lord Boling-"broke; others by Dr. Atterbury, ſince biſhop of Rocheſter; "and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c. were pub-"liſhed with great applauſe. But theſe gentlemen being "grown weary of the work, or otherwiſe employed, the de-"termination was, that I ſhould continue it, which I did ac-"cordingly eight months. But, my ſtyle being ſoon diſ-"covered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, "I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in ſome "manner until her majeſty's death." Dr. Swift began with N° 13, and ended by writing part of N° 45; when Mrs. Manley took it up, and finiſhed the firſt volume: it was afterwards reſumed by Mr. Oldiſworth, who compleated four volumes more, and publiſhed nineteen numbers of a ſixth volume, when the queen's death put an end to the work.

The original inſtitutors of that paper ſeem to have employed Dr. King as their Publiſher, or oſtenſible Author, before they prevailed on their great Champion to undertake that taſk. It is not clear which parts of the firſt *ten* numbers were Dr. King's, though the *ſixth* ſeems much to reſemble his manner; but he appears pretty evidently the writer of N° 11, Oct. 12; and N° 12, Oct. 19: and this agrees with the account given by the publiſher of his Poſthumous Works, who ſays, he undertook that paper about the 10th of October [u].—On the 26th of October, no Examiner at all appeared; and the next number, which was publiſhed Nov. 2, was written by Dr. Swift.

Our Author's warm zeal for the Church carried him naturally on the ſide of Sacheverell; and he had a hand, in his dry ſarcaſtic way, in many political eſſays of that period.

He publiſhed, with this view, "A friendly Letter from "honeſt Tom Boggy, to the Rev. Mr. Goddard, Canon "of Windſor, occaſioned by a Sermon preached at St. "George's Chapel, dedicated to her Grace the Ducheſs of "Marlborough, 1710 [w];" and "A Second Letter to Mr.

[t] Vol. XV. p. 34.
[u] Poſthumous Works, p. 71.
[w] Vol. II. p. 270.

" Goddard, occaſioned by the late Panegyric given him by " the Review, Thurſday, July 13, 1710[x]."

Theſe were ſucceeded by " A Vindication of the Rev. Dr. " Henry Sacheverell, from the falſe, ſcandalous, and ma- " licious Aſperſions, caſt upon him in a late infamous Pam- " phlet, intituled, " THE MODERN FANATICK :" In- " tended chiefly to expoſe the Iniquity of the Faction in " general, without taking any *conſiderable* Notice of their " poor mad Tool BISSET in particular. In a Dialogue be- " tween a Tory and a Whig[y]." This maſterly compoſi- tion had ſcarcely appeared in the world, before it was fol- lowed by " Mr. Biſſet's Recantation; in a Letter to the Rev. " Dr. Henry Sacheverell[z]:" a moſt ſingular banter on that enthuſiaſtic madman; whom our Author once more thought proper to laſh, in " An Anſwer to a Second ſcandalous Book " that Mr. Biſſet is now writing, to be publiſhed as ſoon as " poſſible[a]."

Dr. White Kennet's celebrated Sermon on the death of the firſt duke of Devonſhire occaſioned, amongſt many other publications, a *jeu d'eſprit* of Dr. King's, under the title of " An Anſwer to Clemens Alexandrinus's Sermon, upon *Quis* " *Dives ſalvetur?* What Rich Man can be ſaved?" Proving " it eaſy for a Camel to get through the Eye of a Needle[b]."

In 1711, Dr. King very diligently employed his pen; and publiſhed that very uſeful book for ſchools, his " Hiſtorical " Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes, neceſſary for " the underſtanding of the ancient Poets;" a work ſtill in great eſteem, and of which there have been ſeveral editions, the laſt of them in 1772. This piece he dedicated to Dr. Knipe[c], then upper-maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, for whom he had the greateſt veneration.

About the ſame time he tranſlated " Political Conſide- " rations upon Refined Politics, and the Maſter-ſtrokes of

[x] Vol. II. p. 274.

[y] P. 181. Dr. King was undoubtedly aſſiſted in this Trea- tiſe by Dr. Sacheverell; and there is good reaſon to believe that they were alſo jointly Authors of " The Principles of Deiſm, " truly repreſented and ſet in a clear Light. In Two Dialogues " between a Sceptick and a Deiſt, 1708," 8vo; which was an admirable defence both of Natural and Revealed Religion.

[z] P. 257. [a] P. 261. [b] Vol. III. p. 37.

[c] This characteriſtic Dedication is inſerted, vol. III. p. 291.

" State,

" State, as practiſed by the Ancients and Moderns, written " by Gabriel Naude, and inſcribed to the Cardinal Bagni." This tranſlation is dedicated to the Duke of Beaufort [d]; and its deſign was evidently to extol the earl of Oxford as a conſummate politician.

At the ſame period alſo he employed himſelf on " Rufinus, " or an Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Favourite Miniſtry under " Theodoſius and his Son Arcadius [e];" with a poem annexed, called " Rufinus, or the Favourite [f]." Theſe were written early in 1711, but not printed till the end of that year. They were leveled againſt the Duke of Marlborough and his adherents; and, it muſt be acknowledged, are written with much aſperity.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1711, his fortunes began to re-aſſume a favourable aſpect; and he was recommended by his firm friend Dr. Swift to an office under the government. " I have ſettled Dr. King," ſays that great Writer [g], " in the " Gazette; it will be worth *two hundred pounds* a year to " him. To-morrow I am to carry him to dine with the Se- " cretary." And in another letter [h], he tells the archbiſhop of Dublin, " I have got poor Dr. King, who was ſome time " in Ireland, to be Gazetteer; which will be worth *two hun- " dred and fifty pounds per annum* [i] to him, if he be diligent " and ſober, for which I am engaged. I mention this, be- " cauſe I think he was under your grace's protection in " Ireland." From what Swift tells the archbiſhop, and a hint which he has in another place dropt, it ſhould ſeem that our Author's finances were in ſuch a ſtate as to render the ſalary of Gazetteer no contemptible object to him. " Pa- " trick is gone," ſays Dr. Swift, " to the burial of an Iriſh " footman, who was Dr. King's ſervant; he died of a con- " ſumption, a fit death for a poor ſtarving Wit's footman [k]!"

The office, however, was beſtowed on Dr. King in a manner the moſt agreeable to his natural temper; as he had not even the labour of ſoliciting for it. On the laſt day of De-

[d] This is alſo preſerved, vol. III. p. 293.
[e] Vol. II. p. 280. [f] Vol. III. p. 218.
[g] Journal to Stella, Dec. 31, 1711. [h] Jan. 8, 1711-12.
[i] It was worth *three hundred pounds* a year to his predeceſſor, Mr. Steele; and was much more conſiderably augmented in favour of Mr. Ford, who ſucceeded Dr. King. See p. xxiv.
[k] Journal to Stella, Dec. 19, 1711.

cember, 1711, Dr. Swift, Dr. Freind, Mr. Prior, and ſome other of Mr. Secretary St. John's friends, came to viſit him; and brought with them the key of the Gazetteer's-office, and another key for the uſe of the Paper-office, which had juſt before been made the receptacle of a curious collection of mummery [l], far different from the other contents of that invaluable repoſitory.

On the firſt of January, our Author had the honour of dining with the Secretary; and of thanking him for his remembrance of him at a time when he had almoſt forgotten himſelf. He entered on his office the ſame day; but the extraordinary trouble he met with in diſcharging its duties proved greater than he could long endure. Mr. Barber, who printed the Gazette, obliged him to attend till three or four o'clock, on the mornings when that paper was publiſhed, to correct the errors of the preſs; a confinement which his verſatility would never have brooked, if his health would have allowed it, which at this time began greatly to decline. And this, joined to his natural indiſpoſition to the fatigue of any kind of buſineſs, furniſhed a ſufficient pretence for reſigning his office about Midſummer 1712; as we find, on the firſt of July, his ſucceſſor thus pointed out: "I have made Ford gazetteer [m]; and got *two* "*hundred pounds* a year ſettled on the employment by the "ſecretary of ſtate, beſides the perquiſites. It is the pret-"tieſt employment in England of its bigneſs; yet the puppy "does not ſeem ſatisfied with it! I think people keep ſome "follies to themſelves till they have occaſion to produce them. "He thinks it not genteel enough, and makes twenty diffi-"culties. It is impoſſible to make any man eaſy. His ſa-"lary is paid him every week, if he pleaſes, without taxes "or abatement. He has little to do for it. He has a pretty "office, with coals, candles, paper, &c.; can frank what letters "he will; and his perquiſites, if he takes care, may be worth "*one hundred pounds* more [n]."

[l] The figures of the Devil, the Pope, Cardinals, Sacheverell, &c. which were intended to have been carried in proceſſion on Queen Elizabeth's day, but were ſeized by order of the Secretary of State. See Swift's Journal, Nov. 17 and 19, 1711.

[m] Charles Ford, eſq; many of whoſe Letters are printed in Swift's Works.

[n] Journal to Stella, July 1, 1712.

Such

Such was the office which our Author thought proper to give up, through indolence, it is to be feared, rather than from any real grievance he felt in its execution. The *late hours* were only a temporary inconvenience, arising from an insolvent act having been at that time passed, which for a little while swelled the Gazette enormously with advertisements. But this, the Doctor must have foreseen, could not be of long duration.

On quitting his employ, he retired to the house of a friend, in the garden-grounds between Lambeth and Vauxhall; where he enjoyed himself principally in his library; or, amidst select parties, in a sometimes too liberal indulgence of the bottle [o]. He still continued, however, to visit his friends in the metropolis, particularly his relation the earl of Clarendon, who resided in Somerset house.

A little incident, occasioned by the surrender of Dunkirk into the hands of the British troops under Brigadier Hill, July 7, 1712, is said to have pleased the Doctor highly; who was at that time a perfect valetudinarian, and naturally out of the common road in his taste for pleasure. Hearing that his Grace of Canterbury (Dr. Tenison) was not pleased with the general rejoicings occasioned by that important event, and that he had ordered his gates to be shut; Dr. King, determined to diffuse hilarity around him, invited the watermen and his poor neighbours of Lambeth in general to partake of some barrels of ale, at a house near his little cot; where the good-natured Doctor dispensed his favours with an equal hand in honour of his Queen and Country; and the numerous company assembled on this occasion returned to their respective homes, neither mad, drunk, nor disappointed.

We have two publications of Dr. King, in the course of this year, besides his "Rufinus" already mentioned. One was, "Britain's Palladium; or Lord Bolingbroke's Wel-"come rom France [p]." This was published Sept. 13, 1712.

The other piece was intituled, "Useful Miscellanies, "Part I. 1712 [q]." He seems to have intended a continuation,

[o] Mr. Pope, in that remarkable letter to lord Burlington which describes his journey with Lintot, puts this singular character of Dr. King into the mouth of the bookseller: "I remember Dr. "King could write verses in a tavern, three hours after he could "not speak."

[p] Vol. III. p. 230. [q] P. 1.

if

if his life had been prolonged. But this was the laſt production he lived to publiſh.

As autumn advanced, the Doctor drooped inſenſibly, and then neither cared to ſee, or to be ſeen by, any one: and, winter drawing on, he ſhut himſelf up entirely from his neareſt friends; and would not ſo much as ſee his noble relation, till his lordſhip, hearing of his weak condition, ſent his ſiſter to fetch him in a chair to a lodging he had provided for him oppoſite Somerſet-houſe in the Strand, where, next day, about noon, being Chriſtmas-day, 1712, he yielded up his breath, with the patience and reſignation of a Philoſopher, and with the true devotion of a Chriſtian Hero: but would not be perſuaded to go to reſt the night before, or even to lie down, till he had made ſuch a will as he thought was agreeable to the inclinations of Lord Clarendon. After his death, this noble Lord took care of his funeral; and had him decently interred in the North Cloyſters of Weſtminſter-abbey [r], where he lies next to his maſter Dr. Knipe, to whom, as we have already mentioned, he had a little before dedicated his "Hiſtorical Account of the Heathen Gods."

In 1732, his "Remains," with an Account of his Life and Writings, were publiſhed, with a Dedication to John Earl of Orrery [s]. Theſe are incorporated, in the preſent edition, in ſuch places as were moſt ſuitable to the connexion of the reſpective pieces. They were re-publiſhed in 1734, under the new title of "Poſthumous Works," and with the addition of the Editor's name, "Joſeph Browne, M. D." who purchaſed the original manuſcripts from Dr. King's ſiſter; and again, with a title to the ſame purport, in 1739 [t].

The moſt ſtriking parts of our Author's character are theſe: In his morals, he was religious and ſtrictly virtuous. He was a man of eminent learning and ſingular piety, ſtrictly conſcientious in all his dealings, and zealous for the cauſe rather than the appearance of religion. His chief pleaſure conſiſted in trifles; and he was never happier than when he thought he was hid from the world: yet he loved company, provided they were ſuch as tallied with his humour (for

[r] See Dart's Weſtminſter, vol. II. p. 139. There is no monument, or grave-ſtone, to his memory.

[s] Preſerved at the end of theſe Memoirs, p. xxxi.

[t] It ſhould be acknowledged, that this manufacturing of Title-pages reflects no great credit on Dr. Browne; though the cenſure will probably fall on his bookſeller, Edmund Curl.

few

few people pleaſed him in converſation). His diſcourſe was chearful, and his wit pleaſant and entertaining. His philoſophy and good ſenſe prevailed over his natural temper, which was ſullen, moroſe, and peeviſh; but he was of a timorous diſpoſition, and the leaſt ſlight or neglect would throw him into a melancholy ſtate of deſpondency. He would ſay a great many ill-natured things, but never do one. He was made up of tenderneſs and pity, and tears would fall from him on the ſmalleſt occaſion.

He has deſcribed himſelf in the following verſes, found in his pocket-book at his death, being then freſh written with a lead pencil:

" I ſing the various chances of the world,
" Through which men are by fate or fortune hurl'd;
" 'Tis by no ſcheme or method that I go,
" But paint in verſe my notions as they flow:
" With heat the wanton images purſue;
" Fond of the old, yet ſtill creating new.
" Fancy myſelf in ſome ſecure retreat;
" Reſolve to be content, and ſo be great!"

It appears from his looſe papers, termed by him " Adver-" ſaria," that, before he was eight years ſtanding in the Univerſity [u], he had read over, and made reflections on, twenty-two thouſand and odd hundred books and manuſcripts; a ſpecimen of which we have given the Reader in this volume, which will let him into the humour and taſte of our Author in relation to all kinds of literature, both claſſical, polite, and ſerious, better than the moſt formal deſcription of them. It ſhould at the ſame time be acknowledged, that this method of making remarks upon the authors he read is by no means peculiar to the Doctor; it is the general way of every ſtudent. But nothing diſcovers the taſte and temper of his genius more than the turn and nature of his " Adverſaria." Theſe ſhew how freely he ranged in the fields of polite learning, and what ſet of flowers moſt pleaſed his fancy. It is very evident that nothing of the humourous kind eſcaped his notice.

[u] In our third volume, p. 283, Dr. King ſays, " he bears the " relation of a Son to the TWO moſt flouriſhing Univerſities in " the world, though peculiarly obliged to ONE of them *for his* " *education*." As it no where appears that he had any connexion with Cambridge; he perhaps alludes to the univerſity of Dublin, to which, in his *official* capacity, he might in ſome meaſure be related.

As

As his education had been very ſtrict, ſo he was naturally of a religious diſpoſition; and would never enter upon any buſineſs of the day till he had performed his duties, and read ſeveral portions of Scripture, out of the Pſalms, the Prophets, and the New Teſtament; on which he would often make his remarks, taking a freſh piece of paper every morning in his hand, on which he always began Σὺν Θεὸν, "By God's per-"miſſion." And this paper he kept at hand all day, to write down whatever occurred to his mind, or pleaſed his fancy; theſe he called *hints*, which he could refer to at pleaſure. Accordingly we find ſeveral of theſe upon the ſubject of religion and the church, as well as on virtue and morality.

The "Adverſaria" alſo furniſh us with an ample proof of his regard for the reputation of his country. We find him anxious in recommending ſuch "criticiſms and remarks in "poetry, &c. as might tend to the honour of the Britiſh "name and literature [w]." To encourage a collection of this kind, he recommends a prodigious number of obſervations on books, manuſcripts, and what elſe he had met with to promote ſuch a work. Moſt of theſe obſervations are exceedingly curious; and the great number of the ſmaller poetical pieces referred to and mentioned in them are a conſpicuous proof of his judgement as well as diligence. Among other rare pieces, he mentions the "Polemo Middinia," a macaronic poem by Drummond of Hawthornden, which, afterwards was publiſhed by Dr. Gibſon, biſhop of London [x]. He takes notice alſo of the Biſhop of Lichfield's technical verſes for chronology, as a ſtupendous work, comprehending that learning through many ages ſo ſhort, that nothing can be a greater inſtance, "memoriam in artem poſſe redigi [y]." In the ſame view, having afterwards mentioned the technical verſes uſually found in the little manuals of Logick, he ſays, "it were to be wiſhed that the memorial verſes in all ſci-"ences were to be collected together [z];" and his judgement in this particular has been confirmed, and the deſign here hinted actually put in execution, by the learned Dr. Richard Grey, in his "Memoria Technica."

Our Poet is particularly inquiſitive after any of the pieces of Hudibras. "If that author," ſays he, "has left any Latin "behind him, it would be the beſt in that kind; his thoughts

[w] Vol. I. p. 235. [x] P. 236. [y] P. 239. [z] P. 241.

"are

" are ſo juſt, his images ſo lively, ſuch a deep inſight into the " nature of mankind and the humour of thoſe times, that no " true hiſtory could be written without ſtudying that Au- " thor [a]."—" It is pity," continues he, " that the fineſt of " our Engliſh Poets, eſpecially the divine Shakeſpeare, had " not communicated their beauties to the world ſo as to be " underſtood in Latin, whereby foreigners have ſuſtained ſo " great a loſs to this day; when all of them were inexcuſeable " but the moſt inimitable Shakeſpeare. I am ſo far from " being envious, and deſirous to keep thoſe treaſures to our- " ſelves, that I could wiſh all our moſt excellent Poets tranſ- " lated into Latin, that are not ſo already." This hint of the Doctor's was not loſt. Among other things, we have ſince ſeen not only a Latin tranſlation of Prior's " Solomon;" but even of Milton's " Paradiſe Loſt," excellently performed in verſe by Mr. Dobſon, Fellow of New College, Oxford: not to mention the admirable verſions of ſome lighter eſſays by thoſe truly claſſical ornaments of Weſtminſter-ſchool, Vincent Bourne and Robert Lloyd.

To conclude this account of our Author. He was a civilian, exquiſitely well read; a ſkilful judge; among the learned, an univerſal ſcholar and able critick; expert in all languages and ſciences; in poetry, an Engliſh Ovid. In converſation, he was entertaining, without levity or ſpleen. As an Author, his character has been thus conciſely ſummed up:

" Read here, in ſofteſt ſounds the keeneſt ſatire;
" A pen dipt deep in gall, a heart good-nature;
" An Engliſh Ovid from his birth he ſeems,
" Inſpired alike with ſtrong poetic dreams:
" The Roman rants of heroes, gods, and Jove;
" The Briton purely paints the Art of Love."

[a] Vol. I. p. 241.

A Copy of Dr. KING's Will, made the Night before he died.

" IN the name of God, Amen. I William King, of " Chriſt-Church, Oxon, Doctor of Laws, being of per- " fect mind and memory, and hoping to be ſaved by the " merits of Jeſus Chriſt, do make this my laſt Will and " Teſtament.

" I conſtitute and appoint my loving ſiſter Elizabeth " King my ſole executrix and reſiduary legatee of all my " eſtate or eſtates, real or perſonal, in poſſeſſion or reverſion: " to which I ſet my hand and ſeal, this twenty-fourth day " of December, in the year of our Lord 1712, and in the " preſence of the witneſſes hereunto ſubſcribed; who were " requeſted to be witneſſes to the ſame, and who ſubſcribed " their names in the preſence of each other, being requeſted " ſo to do by the Teſtator; who read the ſame twice, and " audibly, before he ſubſcribed the ſame.

" WILLIAM KING. (L. S.)

" Signed, ſealed, and delivered, in the preſence of " us the ſubſcribing Witneſſes; who were re- " queſted by the Teſtator to do it, in the preſence " of each other; and did ſo accordingly.

" M. B. Son of J. B.
" R. B. Servant to Lord Cornbury.
" J. B. of London."

DEDI-

DEDICATION, prefixed to Dr. KING's "REMAINS."

To the Right Hon. JOHN Earl of ORRERY.

MY LORD,

THE high and moſt exalted reputation your noble name and family bear in the learned world, is a very juſtifiable pretence for the Editor of theſe Remains to lay them at your Lordſhip's feet: but there is ſtill a more prevailing one, which gives your Lordſhip a juſt claim to them; and that is, the intimacy between the Doctor and your Noble Father, then a young Nobleman at Chriſt Church in Oxon, where he made ſo conſiderable a figure in the *belles lettres*.

The controverſy with Dr. Bentley about Phalaris's Epiſtles, taken notice of in our Author's Remains, and in his Letters to the then Honourable Charles Boyle, evidently teſtify his worth and learning; which made the Author of the Poem called "The Diſpenſary" ſay,

"——And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle."

I am too much a ſtranger to your Lordſhip, though not ſo to your character, to aim at what the world calls flattery. And as I have little inclination for writing of panegyrick, ſo I have leſs ability to attempt it: your Lordſhip's goodneſs cannot give me vanity enough to think I can pleaſe a man of quality of your refined ſenſe and reaſon with bombaſt elogiums and rhetorical flouriſhes. I doubt not but your Lordſhip has heard of the man and his manners; and that your Lordſhip will be pleaſed with theſe Remains, and have at leaſt that charity for the dead, according to the Proverb, "De Mortuis nil niſi bonum." I had not undertaken to publiſh this Account of the Life of the Author and his Writings, but to reſcue the work out of worſe hands, purely in regard to the memory of Dr. King, for whom I had the greateſt eſteem: and I am verily perſuaded your Lordſhip will think theſe Remains worthy your peruſal, and be acceptable to men that have any taſte for learning, religion, or virtue.

The Works of our Author, hitherto printed, have been well received by the Public; and he hath been allowed, by ſome of the beſt judges at that time of day, in his "Account "of Denmark," to have ſhewn great reading, perſpicuity, and judgement; great wit and humour in his "Art of "Cookery;" and a true Spirit of Engliſh Poetry, with the greateſt natural modeſty, in his "Art of Love," which was written at the perſuaſion of a very great Stateſman, in imitation of Ovid de Arte Amandi, and may be read to the chaſteſt ear; for I believe our Author was never heard to ſpeak an immodeſt word, or known to write a lewd one.

I muſt own, as I had a great value for Dr. King, ſo I retain the ſame eſteem for his memory; and the only favour I ſhall beg of your Lordſhip is, that your Lordſhip will forgive the Editor for the ſake of the Author.

I am, with the utmoſt deference and ſubmiſſion,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

1732. THE EDITOR.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

UPON

Mr. VARILLAS'S Hiſtory of Hereſy,

BOOK I. TOME I.

As far as relates to ENGLISH MATTERS;

More eſpecially thoſe of WICKLIFF[a].

— Cùm primùm animum ad ſcribendum appulit,
Id ſibi negotî credidit ſolum dari,
Populo ut placerent, quas feciſſet fabulas.

TERENT. *Andria*, Prologus.

[a] Theſe Reflections contain ſome memoirs of that great man, who was as it were the morning-ſtar of the Reformation. It were to be wiſhed, that, from the many volumes of his Works ſtill remaining, a Hiſtory of Religion of that time were compoſed, which would give great light into the affairs of England.

Dr. King's Preface to his Volume of Miſcellanies in Proſe and Verſe.

*** Antoine Varillas was born at Gueret in 1624, and died June 9, 1696. He was the author of many works, chiefly of the hiſtorical kind. That which occaſioned theſe "Reflections" of Dr. King was publiſhed at Paris in 1686, and after re-printed. Deſcribing the revolutions in matters of religion which have happened in Europe, he utterly ruined his reputation abroad, as it expoſed him to the criticiſms of able men in each country; for inſtance, Dr. Burnet and Dr. King in England, Brunſman in Denmark, Pufendorf and Seckendorf in Germany; who copiouſly detected and expoſed his falſehoods and miſrepreſentations concerning the ſtate of religion in their reſpective countries, and made a wonderful revolution in the opinions of thoſe who had been uſed to believe Varillas upon his own bare word. The criticiſms of Bayle, occaſionally made on this author, in various parts of his Dictionary, ſufficiently prove him to have been not only inaccurate, but unworthy of all credit. His own countrymen have acknowledged, with regard to his "Hiſtory of France" and "Florentine Anecdotes," that his frequent profeſſions of ſincerity prejudiced many in his favour, and made him paſs for a writer who had penetrated into the inmoſt receſſes of the cabinet; but that the publick were at length undeceived, and were convinced that the hiſtorical anecdotes, which Varillas put off for authentic facts, had no foundation, being wholly his own inventing; though he endeavoured to make them paſs for realities, by affected citations of titles, inſtructions, letters, memoirs, and relations, all of them imaginary. See ſome further particulars of his life and writings in the Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. art. VARILLAS.

DR. KING'S ADVERTISEMENT.

IT having been publicly deſired, that thoſe, in whoſe way it ſhould lye to expoſe Mr. Varillas, would put themſelves to the trouble; the Author of theſe Papers was willing to contribute his ſhare, in the part concerning Wickliff [a], having formerly

[a] This illuſtrious Reformer was born in the North of England about 1324, and educated at Oxford. About 1365, he was choſen by the ſeculars head of a college, founded at Oxford for the ſcholars of Canterbury; but the monks, who had been newly admitted into that college, had a mind to prefer a regular to the headſhip; and after a long conteſt, Wickliff and his followers were compelled, by Pope Urban V, to quit the college. He retired to his living of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, which he had ſome time poſſeſſed; and, his diſgrace having prejudiced him againſt the court of Rome, he ſought revenge, by oppoſing the authority of the pope, the temporalities of the church, and the juriſdiction of the biſhops. The doctrine he taught being favourable to the king, to the barons, and the people, he found many aſſiſtants and protectors. In 1377, he was cited by Archbiſhop Sudbury to a council at Lambeth; where he appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaſter and many other lords, and was diſmiſſed without any condemnation. By order of Pope Gregory XI, he was cited to a ſecond council at Lambeth; where he appeared, and again avoided condemnation. His doctrines continuing rapidly to ſpread, Archbiſhop Courtney, in 1382, called a council, in which he condemned twenty-four propoſitions of Wickliff or his diſciples; ten as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous. The council obtained alſo a declaration of King Richard II, againſt all who ſhould preach the new doctrines; and many were ſeverely puniſhed. Whilſt theſe matters were agitating with great confuſion and warmth, Wickliff died at Lutterworth in 1384. He wrote many works, both in Latin and Engliſh, few of which have been printed. The principal treatiſe which has appeared is called Trialogus, a dialogue between *Aletheia*, *Pſeudis*, and *Phreneſe*. He ſuffered

formerly laid together ſome obſervations conducing to ſuch a deſign. Mr. L'Arroque indeed has gone before him in the attempt; but that ingenious gentleman was not well adviſed to meddle in a ſtrange country, till time had inſtructed him more fully in the conſtitutions and language of it. Our preſent reflecter has made uſe of the Amſterdam edition, not being able to procure that of Paris. He has given Mr. Varillas all the law imaginable; he has made no advantage of miſtakes, which with any Reaſon could be charged upon the printer; he has contradicted nothing without expreſs proof on his ſide; and in things highly improbable, which ſeem to have no foundation in hiſtory, unleſs he can confront them with poſitive and authentic teſtimonies, he lets the Author alone, and ſuffers the boldneſs of the aſſertion to be its own ſecurity. Laſt of all, he intreats the Reader's pardon, if the language and expreſſion are without choice and ornament; his profeſſed buſineſs and neceſſary occaſions not allowing him any ſuch leiſure,

A. D. 1688.

many anathemas after his death; popes and various councils condemned him repeatedly; and that of Conſtance, in 1414, before they proceeded againſt the perſons of Huſs and Jerom, condemned the doctrines of Wickliff, and ordered his bones to be dug up, if they could be diſcovered, and thrown out of holy ground.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

UPON

MONSIEUR VARILLAS.

THE enemies of the Reformation, as they ſeem reſolved never to leave off writing controverſy, and being confuted by our divines; ſo they are not wanting upon occaſion to turn their ſtyle, and furniſh out matter of triumph to our Hiſtorians. Sanders and Cauſſin heretofore, and of late Monſieur Maimburg and Monſieur Varillas, have thought themſelves qualified for this kind of employment. Above the reſt, Mr. Varillas has uſed his pen with ſuch a partial extravagance, and with ſo little regard to modeſty and truth, that he has not only provoked the Learned of the Reformed profeſſion to chaſtiſe his impudence in their public writings, but has alſo drawn upon him the ſcorn and indignation of ſeveral gentlemen of his own communion; who, in a ſenſe of honour and common ingenuity, have taken ſome pains to lay open the ſmooth impoſtor. Mr. Hozier, Genealogiſt to the King of France, in his Epiſtle, declares himſelf to have diſcovered in him above four thouſand errors. Pere Bouhours, in a diſcourſe of his, makes it his buſineſs to expoſe him: even his old friend Mr. Dryden ſeems to have forſaken him, and gone over to his adverſary Bouhours; from whoſe original he is now tranſlating the Life of St. Xavier. To be free, there is almoſt as many faults in every ſingle page of Mr. Varillas, as in a printer's table of errata: and if the archbiſhop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himſelf bound to put a holy cenſure upon his penſioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel thoſe of the Religion to a recantation of their faith, ſo he ought here to oblige Mr. Varillas to an abjuration of his Hiſtory: which we now come to conſider.

I. " It was then in the year 1374, that Hereſy began in England, " by occaſion of the biſhoprick of Winchester. John Wickliff, par- " ſon of *Enthlerod*, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, pretended to the ſaid " biſhoprick, and thought he had ſo well taken his meaſures, that " it could not otherwiſe eſcape him, than by ſuch an extraordinary " accident as human prudence could not foreſee," pag. 11.] It might be rational to expect that a French Hiſtorian would have taken a particular care to inform himſelf about the chronology of Edward the Third's reign; a prince, whoſe actions France above all countries has reaſon to remember: but Monſieur Varillas takes leave to be altogether ignorant of it, not doubting perhaps but he ſhould meet with gentlemen and readers that would not be ſo uncivil as to contradict the firſt word of an Aauthor. But a plain Engliſhman, that has been taught to aſk for truth in hiſtory, and not to believe a thing only becauſe another has affirmed it, whatever may be the conſequence, and though he is ſure to be called " the raſheſt of all men," will however dare to tell him, that it was not " the year 1374, that Hereſy began in " England, &c." For firſt, John Wickliff had publiſhed his opinions, and gained a fame by the year 1360[b]. Secondly, he was never " parſon of Enthlerod;" nor is there any ſuch pariſh in " the dioceſe of Lincoln," or in the king of England's dominions. If he means Lutterworth, he has ſo disfigured it, that even a Leiceſterſhire-man could not know it again. Thirdly, what deſigns could the parſon of Lutterworth have upon a biſhoprick that was full, and had been ſo for ſeveral years before? For, if William of Wickham was in diſgrace, muſt his biſhoprick be therefore void? or would Wickliff grow diſcontented for a preferment not vacant, and raiſe a hereſy becauſe the biſhop would not die for him? After this, unleſs it appear that Wickliff, amongſt his other meaſures, had intended to diſpatch my Lord of Wincheſter, it is plain, he had not laid his deſigns ſo deep as Mr. Varillas would perſuade us. Fourthly, an Author of equal credit with Mr. Varillas, Harpsfield, has imputed Wickliff's ill humours to the loſs of the biſhoprick of Worceſter: from whoſe Latin, Florimond de Raymond has falſely tranſlated it the biſhop of Wiorn; and Varillas, more falſely, Winton.

II. He goes on (in page 12.) to give a character of the heretick: " That he underſtood the theology of the ſchools, which he

[b] Dr. James, in Wickliff's Life, after the Apology.

" taught

" taught publicly in the Univerſity of Oxford, in quality of " *Regius Profeſſor*: That that place had commonly been a ſtep to " a biſhoprick: That at preſent Wickliff found his ambition " oppoſed by the Pope's officers, either becauſe they had enter- " tained a ſuſpicion of him, or favour for another."] 1. It muſt be confeſſed, that Wickliff might deſerve the title Mr. Varillas has beſtowed upon him; but it is ſomething ſtrange, that he ſhould ſtand poſſeſſed of a dignity which was not founded till about 150 years after, by the magnificence of Henry the Eighth; before whoſe time there was no *Regius Profeſſor* ever heard of in Oxford. In the paragraph before, Mr. Varillas made Wickliff ſo vain as to deſire an impoſſibility; and in this he has put him in real poſſeſſion of one. 2. The Pope's officers, and what follows, Mr. Varillas will lay no great ſtreſs upon, as being only a flouriſh inſerted by a figure of the modern rhetorick, which the wits have called *banter*.

III. We are told, that " Wickliff, thus diſappointed, reſolves " to revenge himſelf upon the Holy See. In expectation of a fit " opportunity, he ſets himſelf to read the ſchiſmatical books of " ſuch as had defended the emperors and anti-popes, againſt the " popes. His firſt advance was, the maintaining, That the Eng- " liſh were not bound in conſcience to the payment of Peter- " pence, given by King John to Pope Innocent the Third," p. 13.] 1. It may be obſerved, that Wickliff was a man of very ill temper, to ground all his diſlike and averſion to the church of Rome upon an affront, which we have proved it impoſſible for him ever to have received. 2. It ſhall be owned, that he was ever a profeſſed admirer of Groſthead the famous biſhop of Lincoln, of Occam, and Bradwardin, that had lately flouriſhed in Merton College, where he himſelf had part of his education: to accuſe him of having read theſe and ſuch-like writers, had indeed been a proper objection in the mouth of an Italian. But I admire that an Author, who had a penſion from the ſame maſter with the Marquis de Lavardin, ſhould ſo far forget himſelf, as to call thoſe Doctors ſchiſmatical, who ſtood up for the civil rights of princes, againſt the encroachments of his Holineſs. The whole collection of Goldaſtus may be read in France; and an Engliſh Hiſtorian, whom Varillas has reaſon to know, is ſaid to have been rewarded for writing in the behalf of that cauſe, the defenders of which Wickliff muſt not be allowed to peruſe without a crime

3. I find Mr. Varillas is much enamoured on the hiſtory of the Peter-pence. This is the great epoche, from whence he has decreed the Hiſtorians of the Engliſh Reformation ought to have ſtarted. At preſent he is much incenſed againſt Wickliff, for adviſing the people not to pay them, and aſſerting that they might with a ſafe conſcience obey their prince, who, in the year 1364, had prohibited their payment, and left Wickliff nothing to do in 1374, but to magnify the action. 4. We entreat, with Dr. B.[c] that if ever Mr. Varillas ſhall have any farther uſe of the Peter-pence, he would aſcribe their original to king Ina, ſince they were not firſt given away by king John, nor received firſt by the pope, whoſe name, as Mr. Pulton thinks, is ſo hard to be remembered.

IV. He ſays that "in 1374, the duke of Lancaſter, upon having heard Wickliff preach, became his convert, hoping by his doctrine to ſupport his own intereſt. He was then the eldeſt of King Edward the Third's ſons; but had not been ſo always. The prince of Wales was born afore him; but he was dead; having left but one ſon, ſo young, that the duke ſuppoſed it not impoſſible to exclude him from the crown. He founded his ambition upon this, that the right of repreſentation was not clearly enough made out in the laws which William the Conqueror had given to England: ſo he hoped to get over the houſe of commons, by encouraging a party againſt the clergy, whom they had always hated," p. 14, 15, 16.] Firſt of all, the duke of Lancaſter was not eldeſt ſon to Edward III, in the year 1374; for the prince of Wales died not till July 1376. I could have eaſily excuſed Mr. Varillas, if the falſeneſs of his date had lain only in days or months. But it ſeems he was reſolved to kill the Black Prince two years before his time; and it had been for the intereſt of France if he could have diſpatched him ſooner. 2. Mr. Varillas has given us a truth, that the duke of Lancaſter had not always been the eldeſt ſon: which is well obſerved of him; for he had three elder brothers, two of which Mr. Varillas has omitted; one of whom left a daughter, that the duke ought to have excluded, as well as his nephew Richard; and it is not to be doubted but there had alſo been a plot againſt Philippa, heireſs to the duke of Clarence, had Mr. Varillas ever heard there

[c] Three treatiſes againſt M. Varillas (all printed at Amſterdam) are enumerated in Dr. Flexman's accurate account of the writings of Bp. Burnet, annexed to the "Hiſtory of his own Times," 8vo. vol. iv. p. 479.

had

had been ſuch a perſon. 3. The gentlemen of the long robe would deſire to know what thoſe laws are, made by king William, in relation to the ſucceſſion; and if Mr. Varillas has any manuſcript of them among his anecdotes, he is entreated to ſend it over, and in requital he ſhall receive from hence two very neceſſary implements for a trader in hiſtory, a Play and a Chronicle. 4. In England, where we pretend no *Salique*, the crown deſcends by the law of nature; by which the whole right line takes place of the collateral, and nephews are preferred to their uncles. If any of our kings, contrary to this maxim, have poſſeſſed themſelves of the throne, it is the reſpect Engliſhmen bear to a perſon that has wore the crown, that keeps them from being ſevere upon his memory: but no friend to our monarchy will pretend to juſtify the practice. The tumults raiſed againſt king John only, which have made him eſteemed the moſt unfortunate of our princes ſince the Conqueſt, are ſufficient to teſtify, that the people ever looked upon him as an uſurper, and pitied the diſtreſſed Arthur when they could not ſerve him. 5. If the duke of Lancaſter had any deſign upon the crown, he muſt have been the moſt impolitic man in the world, to hope for any furtherance of his project by declaring himſelf for Wickliff. The whole courſe of our hiſtory ſhews us, that in ſuch caſes the contrary methods have been always taken, and the clergy have been ever moſt powerful in altering the ſucceſſion. William Rufus had the friendſhip of Lanfranc. Stephen was aſſiſted by his brother Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, and legate to the pope. King John found a Hubert to ſet the crown upon his head. Even the event demonſtrates, that the clergy were the perſons by whom the unfortunate Richard muſt be dethroned; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury muſt carry a ſtrong influence in his ruin.

IV. After the doubt concerning "the right of repreſentation," Mr. Varillas makes a ſhort digreſſion, to croſs the ſea into Bretagne, whence he brings us a parallel caſe, where the Engliſh took part with the uncle in prejudice of the niece; "The eldeſt "ſon of the duke of Bretagne died before his father, leaving but "one daughter, who was afterwards married to Charles de Bloys. "The youngeſt ſon, the earl of Montfort, pretended to be heir to "the dutchy," p. 15.] 1. In this paſſage, Mr. Varillas has put the eldeſt ſon inſtead of the ſecond ſon, and has made the daughter ſucceed her grandfather, when he ought to have ſaid her uncle: for

for there is no herald will deny but this is the caſe in relation to genealogy. Arthur duke of Bretagne, by a firſt venter, had two ſons, John and Guy, and by a ſecond marriage, one more, John of Montfort: thus he died, the elder John ſucceeding; after a time, his brother Guy deceaſing, and himſelf childleſs, ſettles the ſucceſſion upon Jane, Guy's daughter: againſt this Jane it was, after John's death, that John earl of Montfort put in his pretenſions. 2. It is very unreaſonable, we ſee, to expect a good account of foreign matters from Mr. Varillas, when we find him ſo unpardonably miſtaken in his own; and it would be but a vain thing to imagine that, writing of the Reformation in England, he ſhould have read Dr. Burnet; when, quoting a remark out of the French Hiſtory, he could not afford to conſult Mezeray.

V. One acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Varillas would be apt to wonder, that in five pages together there has no lady appeared, nor any thing of an amour. But he can forbear no longer: for, p. 16, "the king's miſtreſs," is brought into the party: "She "was a Spaniard; by name *Alex Perez*; who joined herſelf to "the intereſt of John of Gaunt, in hopes to be ſecured by him "from a parliament, after the deceaſe of the old king; who, by "the diſcourſes of her and the duke, had begun to think well of "Wickliff, and would have declared himſelf in favour of him, "but for fear of the popes," p. 16, 17.]

1. Having read that Wickliff was a perſon of great accompliſhments, improved by travel and a large converſation, I began to be afraid that Mr. Varillas, who has an ambition to improve all things into a love-intrigue, would have made the king's miſtreſs have a deſign of kindneſs upon him. But, finding he had failed me there, I began to bethink me who that Alex Perez might be, and whether it was true that king Edward had fetched a miſtreſs out of the ſame country that duke John had brought his wife from. But who would ſuſpect that this court-beauty, whom Varillas has dreſſed up *à l'Eſpagnole*, ſhould prove to be nobody elſe, but our own Alice Pierce, Engliſh-born, and Engliſh-bred?

2. Our beſt Hiſtorians have left us no remembrance of any concern ſhe ever had with church-affairs; only it is ſaid, indeed, that her firſt ſtep to the royal favour was owing to a Dominican; and that, thus preferred, ſhe did once employ her intereſt with the biſhop of Wincheſter; who had no reaſon to be thought one of Wickliff's

Wickliff's friends, if it were true that he, as Mr. Varillas has before related, had entertained a contrivance to thruſt him out of his ſee.

3. This is certain, king Edward the Third had a great eſteem for Wickliff, ſo as ſome have affirmed he made him his own chaplain: and to ſee how the man is miſtaken, in ſaying, the king diſſembled the favour he had for him, leſt the pope ſhould be diſpleaſed by it, it will be fit to tell him, that the firſt occaſion of Wickliff's riſing in the king's good opinion was, becauſe he manfully oppoſed the papal pretences; and that, if ever any of our princes, till king Henry the Eighth, have aſſerted themſelves from a dread of the popes, it muſt be readily allowed, that this king was not much over-awed by them, in the beginning of whoſe reign [d] the religious were forbid to ſend money to their ſuperiors beyond ſea; in the middle of whoſe reign were enacted the famous Statutes of *Proviſors* [e] and *Præmunires* [f], and both confirmed again by a parliament of his about ten years after.

VI. We are next amuſed with the reaſons king Edward had to be diſpleaſed with the papacy: "It was by the Pope's ill "offices (cauſed by a jealouſy they had of the king) that he ſaw "his pretenſions to the empire defeated; and among other things, "Guienne was loſt to the French, by his not being able to obtain "leave from Rome for the taking the new tenths of his clergy," p. 17, 18, 19.] This whole paragraph wants but a tranſlation for its confutation; and Mr. Dryden might have been as effectual as Dr. Burnet. We ſhall diſmiſs it at preſent with only one *Remark*, that as never any of our kings deſerved better of the native clergy of England than king Edward, ſo he had no need to aſk the pope's leave for them to be grateful to him: that very year that he apprehended the deſigns of Charles upon Guienne, he borrowed of them great ſums; and the next, he had given him by them no leſs than fifty thouſand pounds, to be paid in the ſame year. And here again he betrays his ignorance of the Engliſh policy and conſtitutions: for the clergy, met in convocation, have always had the privilege of taxing themſelves, without ſending for a foreign conſent; which our Author would make us believe was ſolicited by king Edward in a "formal embaſſy to "the Pope;" but what was that ambaſſador's name we muſt not

[d] 5 Ed. II. [e] 25 Ed. III. [f] 27 Ed. III.

know;

know; for perhaps Mr. Varillas has wiſely put himſelf under his old obligation of ſecrecy. The credentials of that embaſſy will be no where found, unleſs it be in the company of Cardinal Bellay's inviſible letters, or the original *Salique* law. Which ſimile I take occaſion to mention here the ſecond time, becauſe I would have Mr. Varillas to underſtand, that I am as fond of my notion of the *Salique*, as he is of his Peter-pence.

VII. We are at length arrived to what he calls "the depth of the "intrigue," and is really beyond my fathom. He begins, "That "before William the Conqueror there were no written laws in "England; William made a collection, ſtill remaining, of ſuch "of the unwritten laws as he deſigned ſhould be aboliſhed: "the laws he left in force, if ſtrictly obſerved, would have ſub-"jected England to the conditions of a conquered country; and "the goods of his eccleſiaſticks (which by his laws he had made "his own, p. 2.) would have preſerved his miniſters in a depend-"ance upon him," p. 19, 20.]

1. Our Author, who has dived ſo deeply into the cabinets of princes, and diſcovered ſo many manuſcript memoires inacceſſible to other mortals, is a little unhappy here, in not having heard of our *Saxon-lege*, or *Mercen-lege*, or *Dane-lege*, of the laws of king Ina, he that gave the never-to-be-forgotten Peter-pence, or king Alfred, or king Edward the Confeſſor, and other our princes before the Conqueſt, with which Mr. Lambard has made a ſhift to fill a Folio.

2. That collection he talks of made by William the Conqueror, and ſtill remaining, would bear a great price in England, if he is willing to part with it; for we could never yet get the ſight of ſuch a record. We have indeed a work of that reign, a noble piece of Engliſh antiquity, the *Domeſday-Book*[g]; but the ſubject of that does not anſwer our Author's character.

3. That William the Firſt affected the name and advantage of a Conqueror, and deſigned to uſe the Engliſh not as ſubjects

[g] Suppoſed to be the oldeſt public record exiſting in the world. The moſt ſatisfactory account of it hitherto given is prefixed to "Hutchins's "Hiſtory and Antiquities of Dorſet," in a Diſſertation for which the publick is indebted to the able author of "Anecdotes of Britiſh Topogra-"phy." This valuable record is at length, by the munificence of parliament, committed to the preſs.

but

but as ſlaves, will never be granted by the moſt impartial of our Hiſtorians.

4. Leaſt of all will it be allowed, that that prince did ever pretend by the right of conqueſt to the revenues of Holy Church; the confirming of which, in all its privileges, was the firſt ſolemn act of his entrance; and the increaſing of it with the foundation of a goodly abbey [h], was what he choſe to be the pious and laſting memorial of his victory.

VIII. What follows is ſo groſs and unpardonable, that I ſhall refer him to be corrected by the Almanack, or the man that ſhews the kings at Weſtminſter. If the Compoſitor does not ſtep in to relieve the credit of the Author, and bring him out of this inconvenience, as he calls it, by taking ſhame to himſelf, no man hereafter will endure his books, but in ſuch a library as Don Quixote's, or in ſuch a catalogue as Mr. Langbaine's. He gravely tells us, "That the two Stephens of the houſe of Blois, who ſucceeded "the ſons of William, took no care of the unwritten laws, &c." Sure he penned this paſſage at a certain ſeaſon, when, they ſay, men are uſed to ſee double; otherwiſe, how is it poſſible for him to make us two kings of one? Who ever heard of king Stephen the Second of England? who was his wife? what children had he? what did he do? which king of France did he beat? where was he buried? It is a miracle that all this ſhould eſcape the world; and whilſt we, the ignorant, thought there never had been any more than one Stephen, Mr. Varillas ſhould produce another. However, it will be hard for him to prevail with the wary citizens of London, amongſt the ſtatues royal erected in the Exchange, to raiſe an effigies to the memory of the ſecond king Stephen.

IX. "To the Stephens," he ſays, "ſuccceded the Houſe of "Anjou; who were reduced to implore the authority of the "Holy See, to put them in their poſſeſſion of England. In them "the prerogative was weakened," by ſome reaſons no man but Varillas would give; "and firſt the clergy and nobility, and "after that the populacy, getting the aſcendant of the crown, the "parliament took its birth. The power of which, during its "ſeſſion, was ſo great, as to leave almoſt nothing but the title to "the king. Henry II. was the firſt that would have ſhook off

[h] Built on the ſpot where he had been victorious, and called Battle-abbey.

"the

"the yoke," p. 20, 21.] 1. The Houſe of Anjou was ſo formidable in Maud and her ſon Henry, and the people ſo well diſpoſed to receive them, that he had no need of any ſuch aſſiſtance from abroad. 2. How could the Houſe of Anjou bring a parliamentary yoke upon themſelves, which Henry II. ſhould be the firſt that endeavoured to ſhake off, when before Henry II. the Houſe of Anjou never reigned in England. 3. It is a ſhame Mr. Varillas ſhould know ſo little of that auguſt aſſembly, the Parliament, as to date the riſe of it from Henry II; whereas at leaſt it ought to have been carried as high as his grandfather [k]. 4. He may think perhaps to make it amends by another miſtake, having falſely raiſed them in their ſeſſion ſo far above the king, as in a manner to annihilate his power for the time. One that reads this in a Frenchman, would think he was diſcourſing of the doge of Genoa; and not of a monarch, who, as his preſent majeſty has been pleaſed publicly to obſerve, "has "enough power by law to make him as great as he can wiſh [l];" though he ſuffers his parliament to maintain their juſt privileges at another rate than the long diſuſed eſtates of a neighbouring kingdom. And here it is probable our Author may think himſelf ſafe behind a quotation fetched from Bologna; and it is likely he will be ſo: for a ſubject of England will not preſume to interpoſe, becauſe the matter is of ſo high a nature; nor a prince condeſcend ſo low, as to take notice of an affront, when the Author is Varillas.

X. He goes on to tell us, "That Henry the Second's deſigns "were prevented by Becket's murder; which happened by two "indiſcreet ſoldiers explaining in too great a latitude ſome words "let fall by the king in relation to the archbiſhop. So this pro-

[k] This aſſertion will perhaps not readily be granted. *When* the commons were firſt repreſented, is a queſtion which has been much agitated by many able writers; ſome of whom have thrown great light upon a ſubject, which, as Dr. *Swift* has well obſerved (vol. xxiii. p. 438.), is perplexed by the word PARLIAMENT being uſed promiſcuouſly by our ancient writers, for a general aſſembly of nobles, and for a council of biſhops, or ſynod of the clergy. It is certain, however, that, under whatever denomination they may have paſſed, there were aſſemblies of the people under the Saxon government, which probably were almoſt coeval with the firſt civilization of this iſland.

[l] It does not appear when James II. made this declaration.

"ject

" ject was ſet on foot no more till Edward the Third's time, who, " taking up the ſame deſign of depreſſing the ſtates of parliament, " began with that of the clergy, which by Wickliff's proceedings " he was in hopes to mortify," p. 22.] 1. Thoſe *two ſoldiers* of his were four knights, Sir Hugh Merville, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Brittain, and Sir Raynold Fitz-Urs. An Hiſtorian ought to underſtand ſo much blazon, as to know a knight from a ſoldier; and not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo much in haſte, as to leave half his number behind him: but Mr. Varillas may think he has done the gentlemen no wrong, in giving them a name ſo much admired in modern France; and I am the more willing to excuſe him for being too ſhort in this account [m], becauſe he allows for it in the two Stephens. 2. He told us in p. 18, 19, " That " the reaſon of king Edward's deſigns upon the clergy, was a " deſire he had of revenging himſelf upon the popes, who had " done him, as he thought, ſo many injuries there recounted." But here that reſolution is made to proceed from an intent of his, to bring down the power of parliaments. Now I begin to have ſome hopes of our Author; for I ſee he knows himſelf ſo well, as not to rely upon his own relation laid down before; and Mr. Varillas will not believe Mr. Varillas. He gueſſes again; and thinks it is here as in arithmetick, where two falſe ſuppoſitions may produce a truth.

XI. After this long deduction, in which it ſeems as though he had been reſolved to ſpend at once all the little ſtock of knowledge he has in the Engliſh Chronicles, he returns to Wickliff; " who, finding himſelf thus ſecure, taught openly, that the Eng- " liſh lords might reſume the goods given by their anceſtors to " the church; that neither pope nor biſhops might excommuni- " cate; that ſacraments adminiſtered by wicked prieſts were in- " effectual," p. 23.] Mr. Varillas having framed to himſelf a notion, that Wickliff was only uſed as a ſtate-inſtrument againſt the clergy, he has accordingly picked only theſe out of his many doctrines, as appearing moſt proper to ſerve his hypotheſis; as if theſe three miſrepreſented articles were the only or the chief tenets by which Dr. Wickliff grew to be ſo conſiderable. It was

[m] This period of Engliſh Hiſtory has been diſcuſſed in a very maſterly manner by the late lord Lyttelton.

his

his great eſteem for the Holy Scriptures, of which his tranſlation ſtill remains a memorable inſtance; his right notion of the bleſſed Euchariſt; the oppoſition he made to the encroaching mendicants in behalf of the ſecular clergy; not to mention his confeſſed excellences in polemic divinity and philoſophy; with a ſtrictneſs of life, which his acquaintance revered; which his adverſaries, amongſt all their accuſations, have never pretended to call in queſtion; and which engaged in his favour the major part of the Univerſity where he lived, and particularly the chancellor and both the proctors of the year 1382. It would be too large a work, and not becoming ſuch a pamphlet as this, to enter into a defence of that great man and all his particular opinions, and to ſhew how induſtrious the Friars have been to blacken him ſince his death; when even in his life-time he was charged with the fancies and errors of other men, which, when in open court, he declared never to have been his. This his remonſtrance has by ſome ſince been pleaſantly termed a recantation. For the preſent, the diligent Dr. James may be conſulted by the curious, for their farther ſatisfaction, till ſome generous pen ſhall appear more fully in the cauſe of Wickliff, and do juſtice to ſo eminent a confeſſor.

XII. He keeps us ſtill in the year 1374. "And in that it "was," as he tells us, "that pope Gregory XI, hearing of the "novelty, wrote to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and biſhop of "London, by any means to ſuppreſs it. They cite Wickliff; "who appears; but in the poſture of one that expected a reward, "and not a puniſhment. He pleaded, That he had never deſigned "to alter the Chriſtian truth; that, if any thing offenſive had "eſcaped him, he revoked it ſincerely, and ſubmitted to penance "and public correction. Upon this, they put into his hands a "billet of the three errors he had taught; which having ex"plained to their content, there was nothing left for the two "biſhops, but to abſolve him, upon promiſe made never more to "maintain in publick any equivocal propoſitions," p. 23, 24.]

At the firſt reading of this narration, drawn up with ſo much ſeriouſneſs and formality, it would look like confidence to ſuſpect it; and yet, upon ſearch, it will be manifeſt that it is falſe and ſophiſticate in almoſt all its parts. Having made this general obſervation, how cautious our Author has been, in avoiding thoſe unlucky

unlucky things called dates [n], as not having hitherto ſpecified ſo much as the month in which any adventure fell out; we muſt not expect he ſhould tell us what was the date of the pope's bull, of the epiſcopal citation, or the time of Wickliff's appearance; all which would have been looked for in an exact hiſtory; and, if they had here been ſet down by Mr. Varillas, would have ſupplied us with matter for a confutation. 1. All our Annals and Regiſters place this hearing two years later, about the nineteenth of February, 1377. 2. That Wickliff's behaviour there was contrary to what Mr. Varillas has repreſented it, I will at preſent take no other care to demonſtrate, than by ſetting down the words of Knighton [o]: "Cumque die ſtatuto ad objecta reſpondere deberet, "omnem præjactitatam cordis audaciam ſine mora dimiſit," &c. 3. I ſhall aſk of Mr. Varillas, whether it be the way of the French law, or any other he has ſtudied, for a man to plead before his indictment be known, and to anſwer an accuſation when it is not yet preferred againſt him. If Wickliff did ſo, yet this we know, that he made no ſuch harangue; that, after that, he had no ſuch billet of three articles preſented him; that the expoſition our Author aſcribes to him is fictitious; and, in ſhort, all that follows: for, a tumult happening, the court was obliged to break up abruptly before nine of the clock in the morning; and never came to give ſuch an abſolution, or to receive ſuch a promiſe. 4. If he had ever read any writer upon the preſent particular, he could never have made ſo defective a diſcourſe of it, in which he has not told us ſo much as that this trial was at London; that the great duke of Lancaſter and Henry marſhal of England appeared in favour of the criminal, and finally were the occaſion that the biſhops left the court ſooner than was intended.

XIII. We are acquainted, "That, after this, Wickcliff re-"lapſed. The ſame pope, hearing of it, complained of the Eng-"liſh prelates; and, to ſhew what they ought to have done, con-"demned the propoſitions of Wickliff himſelf. The prelates, "being aſhamed to be out-done, aſſembled themſelves at Canter-"bury in the form of a council; and pronounced, by the mouth of "the archbiſhop of the place, who was their primate, an anathema

[n] See the cenſure on Varillas above, p. 2.

[o] Lib. v.

"againſt his doctrine." And all this in king Edward's reign, and the year 1374, p. 25.

1. To ſet him right in his chronology, this ſecond convocation is on all hands affirmed to have fallen out in the reign of Richard II, which began June 21, 1377. 2. Whereas he makes our biſhops ſo complaiſant, as immediately to fall about what the pope had hinted to them by his example; it is evident, by the original acts ſtill remaining, and to be ſeen in their proper archives, that he was forced to oblige them to it by formal letters, bearing date from Rome, "11 cal. Jun. anno 7 pontificatûs;" though not put in execution till after the death of king Edward. Why does Mr. Varillas mention nothing of this bull? or is not the pope's letter of as great moment, and as well deſerving to be taken notice of, as a love-letter or a lampoon? 3. He is very unhappy in deſcending to particulars, and not keeping aloof in generals, and at a due diſtance: for, as in the firſt convocation he aſſigns us no place for their ſeſſion, ſo here he hath given us a wrong one, and Lambeth is many miles from Canterbury. 4. The biſhops met at Lambeth were ſo far from "pronouncing an anathema againſt "Wickliff's doctrine," that they found reaſons not to give any definitive ſentence; which had they done, it would have appeared on regiſter, amongſt other acts we have remaining of the ſame council.

XIV. This 1374 has been a very long year, and at laſt "king "Edward dies in it;" who, however, I am well ſatisfied, was on the throne above two years after. "In his life-time he had ten-"derly loved the duke of Lancaſter, and had given him outward "demonſtrations that he would leave him the crown; neverthe-"leſs, when he was dead, a will was found, written and ſigned "with his hand, which rendered juſtice to the prince of Wales, in "the perſon of his ſon Richard, then but twelve years old, and "declared him ſucceſſor, in excluſion to the duke of Lancaſter, "and the dukes of Glouceſter and Cambridge, his brothers. "The parliament of England approved this will." p. 25, 26.] 1. Mr. Varillas is the firſt diſcoverer of any demonſtrations given by Edward III. to the duke of Lancaſter, that ſhould put him in hopes of the crown. On the contrary, Walſingham[P] tells us in expreſs words, "Eo tempore, nondum finito parliamento,

[P] Hypodigmata Neuſtr.

"dominus

" dominus Edwardus, princeps Walliæ, 8 die Julii in die S. Tri-
" nitatis defungitur. Dominus Richardus de Burdegalia, filius
" dom. Edw. principis, in hoc parliamento factus eſt comes
" Ceſtriæ, et non multo poſt dux Cornubiæ et princeps Walliæ
" eſt creatus. Edwardus in feſto S. Georgii apud Windeleſhores
" contulit Richardo de Burdegal' hæredi ſuo ordinem militarem."
From hence any man of inference will ſee what reaſon the duke of Lancaſter had to enlarge his hopes, and promiſe himſelf that prince Richard was not deſigned for the crown by his royal grandfather. Here is a will produced, never known in the world till Mr. Varillas printed his Hiſtory: nothing of this in any of our Authors, but counterfeited by him, who is one of the firſt men that ever forged a teſtament without hopes of getting by it ſo much as a legacy. It is ſomething obſervable, that he ſhould deal ſo by a prince, who is the firſt in England that has made a ſtatute about pillories. 3. A man that goes about a cheat ſhould not be in haſte, but let his invention tarry for his judgement. This will is ſo awkwardly contrived, that it betrays itſelf at firſt ſight. The duke of Cambridge (as he calls him) is put after his younger brother; neither was he ever duke of Cambridge, but earl only, in which character he continued till 1386, when his nephew created him duke of York. Thomas of Woodſtock is yet more beholden to Mr. Varillas, for having excluded him by the name of "the duke of Glouceſter;" whereas he had no title when his father died, nor did he arrive to this dukedom till the abovenamed year 1386. Now it is a pretty hard conceit to ſuppoſe that the king did not know which of his ſons was the elder, or that he ſhould put by from the crown two dukes he had never heard of; or laſtly, that, propheſying of the future honours of his children, he ſhould gueſs right about one, and be miſtaken about the other. 4. Not to harraſs him any more; as for what concerns the parliament after the king's death, I deſire to know who ſhould call it, if the new king was not yet approved, as he is pleaſed to term it. And about the act of approbation, I requeſt of him to tell us where it is to be found, that ſo it may be put into the next edition of Keble.

XV. He informs us, p. 26, 27, "That the unfortunate Alix
" Perez avoided the puniſhment prepared for her, by embarking
" with what ſhe had moſt precious upon a Flemiſh veſſel, which

" carried her to the coaſts of Galicia. And the tutors of the " young king forbore to ſeek after her, either becauſe they " thought her below their anger, or that they were perſuaded the " king of Caſtile would not abandon her to their diſcretion, " becauſe of the riches which ſhe brought from England into " Spain, or of the pretenſions which the duke of Lancaſter had " upon his crown." Thus far our Romancer. His friend Tacitus has begun his Annals with a verſe; and Mr. Varillas, improving the humour, and advancing upon thoſe grounds, has made his whole Hiſtory into a poem. Had he lived in the days of knight-errantry, he would certainly have been invited over to the honourable employment of imperial hiſtoriographer in the court of Trebizond, and deſerved a penſion extraordinary from his highneſs Don Alphebo. Having here to do with a female, he has acquitted himſelf extremely civilly, and much like a gentleman, to re-conduct the ſtrange lady to her own country, with all her jewels and other ſtolen accoutrements. But our rough Hiſtorians deal more unkindly by her, and tell us, that, by a parliament at Weſtminſter, Alice Pierce had all her goods confiſcate, and herſelf baniſhed, ſo as really to be left " the unfortunate Alix " Perez."

XVI. We are now coming on to Tyler's rebellion; and here our Author has given a maſter-ſtroke of his fancy, and has found a contrivance to draw in Wickliff for the author of the whole commotion: " Wickliff, taking advantage of the king's mino- " rity, paſſed on from the clergy to vent his doctrine againſt the " lay-nobility and magiſtracy; and at length came to a con- " cluſion, that there ought to be no inequality in goods, but a " community of all things. Having thus diſpoſed the people's " minds, he received into his party one *John Balee*, a man the " moſt turbulent and ſeditious of all England: he was a prieſt " by profeſſion; and had eſcaped out of priſon, where his ordinary " had ſecured him. He, fearing to be re-taken, and not having " means of ſubſiſtence beyond the ſeas, found there could be no " ſafety for him without kindling a civil war. So, having often " conferred with Wickliff, he preached and improved his opi- " nions, ſo as to draw after him to the number of two hundred " thouſand perſons, pretending to eſtabliſh an equality, but indeed " to put himſelf into the dignities of Simon de Suberia, arch-

" biſhop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England," p. 27, 28, 29.] 1. I love an hiſtorian of a great ſoul and free thoughts, that ſcorns to be beholden to former accounts, and will go no farther than himſelf for his relations: it is an argument of a *vulgar ſpirit*, to be content to take up with what is written already, and preſent the world with nothing that is new. Wickliff's preaching had no more relation to this rebellion, than the edition of Confucius in France had to the ſufferings of the Hugonots, or than Mr. Varillas's concluſions are uſed to have to his premiſes. It is well known by all men of judgement and reading, that Wickliff always defended order and diſtinction; that he himſelf took his degree of Doctor, and that his friends and patrons were of the nobility; and that all his troubles took their riſe from his zeal in maintaining the ſupremacy of his prince; ſo far was he from being author of this tumult againſt him. To paſs by our Author's forgetfulneſs, who, having (p. 12.) brought in Wickliff as deſigning nothing but to revenge himſelf upon the pope's officers and the clergy for a ſuppoſed affront received from them, does here undeſervedly, and without reaſons aſſigned, ſet him as hotly againſt the laicks and nobility. All agree, that the rebellion proceeded from the ſeeming oppreſſions, and from the taxes, the greateſt that had ever been in England, thought to be unreaſonably impoſed, and inſolently exacted in Kent and the neighbouring parts. 2. Now for John Ball, the ſeditious eccleſiaſtick, he was clapt up for tenets of his own; and was ſo far from having eſcaped priſon, to go and enter into frequent conſults with Wickliff; and from thinking it neceſſary, after that, to raiſe the people of England for the ſecurity of himſelf, an inconſiderable curate; that the peaſantry was firſt in arms; and amongſt their other extravagances, having broke open the priſons, they ſet free with the reſt this John Ball, who then indeed joined with his deliverers.

XVII. " The multitude (he ſays) marched on to the palace " of the archbiſhop; where forcing entrance, they find the pre- " late upon his knees, and, with all the circumſtances of horror, " cut off his head. The troubles were renewed ſoon after in the " provinces of Eſſex and Kent, and quickly paſſed into thoſe of " Norfolk, Suffolk, *Erfolc*, and Cambridge. Thence the Wick- " liffiſts advanced towards London in a body innumerable: they

" were a charge to no man; they paid for what they had, and " puniſhed with death any that were convicted of having ſtolen. " When they were arrived at *Bloquet*, king Richard ſent to de- " mand the reaſon of their taking arms; but received an anſwer " full of inſolence: and when the mayor would have ſhut the " city-gates againſt them, he was hindered by thoſe of the ordi- " nary ſort. The ſeditious enter London, burn the count of " Lancaſter's palace, and throw the goods of the count into the " river: then they inveſt the Tower, whither the king and court " had fled for refuge, gain entrance, and murther the chancellor, " treaſurer, and other officers, hid in the Tower, and ſeveral " other churches of London," p. 29, 30, 31.] 1. I would have been glad if Mr. Varillas would have told us where this " palace " of the archbiſhop" ſtood, and whether it was not that at Lambeth, near *Candamart?* It is ſure, that the archbiſhop was not maſſacred in any palace he had; and before I end this paragraph, I will undertake that Mr. Varillas himſelf ſhall tell me ſo. 2. Amongſt the provinces concerned in the tumults, we meet with *Erſolc* for one: Mr. Camden and Mr. Adams knew nothing of ſuch a place; and if Mr. Varillas will come over hither, and diſcover where this county lies, I engage my honour that at leaſt the freeholders of it ſhall chuſe him knight of the ſhire. 3. That the rebels were ſo exact in paying for what they had, I muſt beg his pardon, if I believe a miſtake, not only by their actings, but alſo by their principles, which, Mr. Varillas told us before, were to make " all things common." But let us follow them to *Bloquet*; which however we cannot do without a guide; for it is impoſſible to find any ſuch place, unleſs by that name he means to underſtand Black-heath, or Barnet, or rather Mile-end. 4. The mayor not being ſuffered [" to change the city locks," or ſo much as] " to ſhut the gates," the peaſantry came on, and plundered the *earl of Lancaſter's* houſe in the Savoy. Sure one would think they had deprived him of his dukedom too: for otherwiſe how comes it to paſs that he who has hitherto been all along " *le duc* " *de Lancaſtre*," ſhould be now on a ſudden diminiſhed into " *le* " *conte de Lancaſtre?*" By this figure of Varilliſm it was, that the lord Darley was brought down into a private gentleman, and the knights of king Henry into ſoldiers. If there were nothing elſe to be ſaid about the preſent rebellion, this ſingle paſſage were enough

enough to evince the rebels not to have been the diſciples of Wickliff; for if ſo, this illuſtrious patron of his muſt needs have met with another ſort of uſage at their hands: though farther yet it may be noted, that Jack Straw in his laſt confeſſion declared, "their deſign was to ſave the Mendicant friers;" an order of men, who had always ſhewed themſelves the moſt violent enemies to Wickliff. 4. We are now come to the buſineſs of Simon de Suberia. Mr. Varillas mentioned above, that the archbiſhop was beheaded in his palace; and now aſſures us, that the chancellor is murthered in the Tower: either forgetting what he had told us before (p. 28.) that both thoſe dignities were in one perſon, Sudbury; or deſigning to deter people from ambition and a deſire of plurality in high offices, by ſhewing that a man muſt undergo as many ſeveral deaths as he holds preferments; and in this example, that the ſame perſon was firſt put to death in his ſpiritual capacity of archbiſhop, and again maſſacred ſome time after for his temporal qualification of ſtate-miniſter: for that a man may be *two-fold*, was formerly ſeen, in the caſe of Charles V. The truth is this: Sudbury from the firſt beginning of theſe diſturbances had followed the fortune and perſon of the king, and was at preſent retired with him into the Tower, where the multitude ſeized and beheaded him. So died a prelate, of whom our authors have given us a very honourable mention; and yet Mr. Varillas has been pleaſed to aſſign him ſo ill-natured and unjuſt a character (p. 23. 28, 29.), that one who reads it would think he had miſtaken his man, and was deſcribing the heretick Wickliff, inſtead of Sudbury the legate of the holy ſee. 5. Beſides the chancellor, he tell us, more of the king's miniſters were killed in "the "Tower and *other churches*." Really Sir, if the Tower be a church, it is one of the largeſt and beſt-fortified churches in Europe. I have ſo good an opinion of his friend Mr. Sorbiere [9], as

[9] Samuel Sorbiere, a Frenchman, was bred firſt to divinity, and afterwards ſtudied phyſick. He publiſhed in 1664 a relation of his voyage into England, which brought on him much trouble and diſgrace. For his unwarrantable liberties againſt a nation whom France at that time thought it good policy to be well with, he was ſtripped of his title of hiſtoriographer, and ſent into baniſhment. His book was diſcredited by a piece publiſhed againſt it in the very city of Paris; whilſt Dr. Sprat ex-

as to think that, out of the little knowledge of England he pickt up here, he could have informed our Author, that the Tower is never looked upon by us as a cathedral, but as an arſenal: whither by this paper I invite Mr. Varillas to come over, and ſee the famous cannons with which Henry VIII. of glorious memory took Boloign.

XVIII. "Upon a pardon proclaimed, great numbers deſerted; "but a conſiderable party ſtill kept together in a body, under the "conduct of *Gauthier Igler*, the moſt adroit and moſt reſolute "perſon amongſt them". After the ſtory of whoſe death, and ſome other paſſages, we find, that "Ball preached at *Seblaker*, to "twenty thouſand people; upon whoſe being ſeized and exe-"cuted, the troubles had an end." At laſt he ſays, "That Wick-"liff was never preſent either at the aſſemblies of the ſeditious, or "at the aſſaſſination of the archbiſhop of Canterbury" (p. 32, 33, 34.). 1. Our Author would have deſerved much commendation, and ſaved the Reader a great deal of thinking, had he placed a key at the end of his book, as we ſee done in another work of the like nature, called "Barclay's Argenis;" it would have been eaſy then to have known a proper name under all its diſguiſes; we ſhould then have perceived, that *Haviet* was put for Wiat; *Gauthier Igler* for Wat Tyler; and what had been the meaning of the not-yet-decyphered *Seblaker*, which we can only gueſs to be Black-heath. 2. By this laſt ſentence, which truth has extorted from Mr. Varillas, it appears that Wickliff was altogether innocent, and that our Author would never have brought him into this rebellion, but to gain the topick of deſcribing it; which *image*, with all its graceful circumſtances, muſt otherwiſe have been loſt, for want of an opportunity to introduce it.

poſed it with much eloquence and wit at London. In Voltaire alſo we meet with this reflection: "I would not imitate the late Mr. Sorbiere, "who, having ſtaid three months in England, without knowing any thing "either of its manners or its language, thought fit to print a relation, "which proved but a dull ſcurrilous ſatire upon a nation he knew nothing "of." Sorbiere died of a dropſy, April 9, 1670. He was not the author of any conſiderable work, though there are more than twenty publications of his of the ſmaller kind.—His name was afterwards borrowed by Dr. King, in the title of his "Journey to London."

XIX. "A

XIX. "A ſchiſm happening between the popes, Wickliff, in "the year 1382, makes his advantage of it; but, his offers being "rejected by the parliament, he found himſelf obliged to retire "into the province of Wales, newly ſubjected to the Engliſh. "There he attacked the Benedictines by a writing: upon this, "archbiſhop Courtney aſſembles a council at London, ſoon after "Eaſter, where were condemned theſe propoſitions of Wickliff, "That the ſubſtance of the bread and wine, &c. Theſe arti-"cles thus condemned, Wickliff himſelf, being cited, made "his appearance, where he abjured all he had taught without "exception. This recantation they obliged him to put in writ-"ing, and recite over again. And this piece had been ſeen in its "place amongſt the other acts of this council, if the Engliſh "compiler[r], too paſſionate for the glory of his nation, or un-"willing to give arms to the Catholicks againſt the hereſy of "Calvin, of which he made profeſſion, had not ſuppreſſed this "retractation, and placed inſtead of it a profeſſion of faith, "which, properly ſpeaking, is nothing but plainly a captious "qualification of the errors of this Heretick. The laſt act of the "council was an eccleſiaſtic procedure againſt his three famous "diſciples, Rippendon, Hereford, and Aſton," p. 36—42.

1. What is ſaid in the beginning of this paragraph, we find no where warranted; nor that Wickliff ever was in Wales: which our Author makes "newly conquered" by the Engliſh; an expreſſion ſomething improper for a country that we had acquired no leſs than a hundred years before. 2. What he ſays was penned againſt the Benedictines, I have reaſons to believe to have been no other than the two treatiſes written by Wickliff, and in the laſt century printed againſt the Mendicants. 3. It is acknowledged that Courtney, in a council called upon May 17, did condemn ſeveral concluſions; and that the ſame archbiſhop, upon June 20, ſat upon Hereford, Reppingdon, and Ayſhton, accuſed of holding thoſe concluſions. Ayſhton pleaded apart; the two other put into the court a paper, which the learned Sir Henry Spelman has publiſhed in his councils from the Mſ. copy, in the principal regiſtry of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, *Nuncupat.* "Courtney," fol. 25. At neither of theſe conventions, nor at any other time throughout this whole year, did Wickliff appear at all at London

[r] Spelman.

before

before the archbiſhop. What aſſurance then muſt that man be maſter of, who dares affirm, that he made, wrote, recited in this council, a formal recantation of "all his opinions whatever without reſerve;" whereas there is not ſo much as any pretended retractation of his of any kind, that can poſſibly be brought to concern any more than the ſingle article about the bleſſed Euchariſt? As for that accurate and honoured collector Sir H. Spelman, as this is the firſt time he has ever been accuſed of falſifying, ſo his confident accuſer could not do it, without giving matter to any examining reader of returning the charge, and convicting him of his own calumny. For had this Hiſtoriographer of France but once vouchſafed to look into the book he has paſſed ſo blind a cenſure upon, he would eaſily have found that his Latin friends, who told him of ſuch a palliation in behalf of Wickliff, had a little miſinformed him. For ſuch a palliation is ſo far from being there, that there is nothing that can poſſibly be thought like it, or miſtaken for it, unleſs it be the abovenamed paper of Hereford and Reppingdon: which if he ſhall pleaſe to doubt of, whether it be authentic or no, upon his acceptance of my former invitation of him into England, I ſhall be willing, after we have ſeen his cathedral the Tower, to wait upon him up the water to Lambeth; where his worthy countryman, the learned Mr. Colomiez, on my account, will condeſcend to let him into the archives; upon promiſe, that he makes better uſe of the Mſſ. he ſees there, than of thoſe he calls "Cardinal Ballay's," which are of ſo nice and ſo retired a humour, that they will endure no viſit from any other perſon beſides Mr. Varillas: of whom I ſhall forbear to obſerve at preſent, how little he underſtands of the conſtitutions of the church of England, whatever pretences he makes to be a critick in the hiſtory of Hereſies, who takes Sir H. Spelman for a Calviniſt, and thinks there is no difference between Geneva and Great Britain.

XX. But to proceed. Mr. Varillas tells us, "that the aforeſaid "council, held at London, forbad all perſons whatſoever to preach "without permiſſion from the biſhops." Farther he adds, "That "the deciſions of this convocation at London were inſerted in "a decree of the Univerſity of Oxford, approved by Wickliff; "which Spelman has alſo ſuppreſſed, to put in its place a "piece, which can be manifeſtly convicted of forgery, by the "teſtimony

" teſtimony of *Vington*, an irreproachable author in this matter," p. 43].

1. I have ſo great a reſpect for the pious and worthy Sir H. Spelman, ſo baſely handled by this tranſcriber of Florimond, this ſucceſſor of Sorbiere, not at all acquainted with the character of books or credit of authors, that I cannot prevail with myſelf to diſcover how falſe the former part of this paragraph is, till I have cleared the latter. There has never been, perhaps, any layman, that has ſo devoutly ſerved the cauſe of his mother the Church, as this incomparable gentleman. He has not only diſplayed with truth the former ſtate of the Engliſh church, but bettered the preſent; and has left a work, which, if well conſidered, will do her juſtice as to the rights of her patrimony in after-ages. What can be ſaid great of any man, that might not be ſaid of him, who was ſo admirably learned, ſo judicious, ſo ſincere, ſo pious, and in ſhort was every thing that Mr. Varillas is not? Yet, for all this, the Frenchman has been pleaſed to reflect upon him, as " ſuppreſſing a certain decree of Oxford;" which animadverſion betrays the Author not only not to have read the book, as we obſerved before; but farther yet, not to have ſeen ſo much as the title of it. For how abſurd is it, to aſk for a cenſure of the Univerſity, in a work that profeſſes no more than a collection of " Church Conſtitutions;" when, by a parity of reaſon, he might as well fall upon the Author of the " Oxford Anti-" quities," for omitting the relation of what has been acted in the ſynods at London! And now to compare Vington (I ſuppoſe he means Knyghton) to Sir H. Spelman, ſhews who does it. What uſe he can pretend to make of Knyghton, is to me a myſtery; for in him nothing is ſeen of " the deciſions of a Council of " London, inſerted in a decree of the Univerſity of Oxford, ap-" proved by Wickliff." All that can be gathered from him is, that Wickliff made a recantation, there in full ſet down; which as it only concerns the point of the Euchariſt, ſo it is ſo far from being indeed a recantation, that it is a free and reſolute confeſſion of that faith which is now maintained in the church of England; declaring, that our Saviour's body is " verily and " really preſent in the ſacrament," the bread however retaining its proper ſpecies. And I leave it even to Mr. Cockquelin to determine between us, whether that man may be concluded to renounce

renounce his opinion, the oppoſers of which he brands with hereſy, and affirms, that at what time it was condemned by authority, a prodigy intervened to deter the judges from their unjuſt proceedings. Neither would Tyſſington and Winterton, and Wellys, and many more of his zealous adverſaries, have written purpoſely againſt this retractation, had it been ſo, and not rather a remonſtrance; which, becauſe we ſubmit the whole matter to the reader's judgement, we have affixed at the end of theſe papers from the Copy in Knyghton[s]: of whom, ſeeing Mr. Varillas has made mention, as an Author to be relied on in this matter, though in truth he was always an open enemy to Wickliffiſm; I deſire leave to digreſs into a quotation or two out of him, to ſhew the ſtate of the Wickliffiſts in thoſe days. In his fifth book, he ſays, "In thoſe days this ſect was in great "eſteem, and ſo much increaſed in number, that a man could "not ſee two people walking together, but one of them was a "Wickliffiſt." And in another place, "That that party had "gained half, or above half, the nation to their ſide:" and theſe not mechanicks, or the loweſt ſort of people, but, amongſt them, "many knights," of whom he inſtances in ſome, "and "dukes, and earls. That, ſince Wickliff had tranſlated the Bible, "even the women of that profeſſion underſtood more than their "clergy did:" for which he makes a long melancholy lamentation, and would fain perſuade us, out of Gui de Sancto Amore, that Wickliff is indeed Antichriſt: to whom, however he has done ſo much juſtice in his character, as to acknowledge him "a moſt eminent philoſopher and divine;" and that "as his "ſcholars always foiled their adverſaries in their reaſonings, ſo "he himſelf went beyond all men of that age in diſputing."

Upon the whole matter, if my opinion were to be aſked, whether this Annaliſt Monſieur Vington be ſo altogether irreproachable; not to take any notice how ſmall a man's credit ought to be in his own cauſe; I am afraid I ſhould declare that to me he ſeemed a perſon of but a mild underſtanding and a very narrow information. Otherwiſe, in theſe few leaves Mr. Varillas pretends to have conſulted, how could he have been ſo impoſed upon as to think that Wat Tyler and Jack Straw were one and the ſame man? how could he ſo forget himſelf as to call that

[s] See p. 33.

in

in words at length "the *ſecond* year of king Richard," which, by his own account a little way off, is the *fourth?* or laſtly, why ſhould he exclaim againſt a preacher for this harmleſs remark, "That, amongſt all the proſelytes our Saviour made, he is never "read to have gained a prieſt?" And all theſe things printed in his works, out of a manuſcript thought to be of his own writing, by a perſon of unſuſpected integrity, Sir Roger Twiſden, who has given us at the beginning of the book the Author's own judgement of himſelf;

"Me metuo dubium pro veris ſæpe locutum,
"Plus audita loquor, quam mihi viſa ſequor."

Which ingenuous confeſſion may ſerve indeed to atone for the miſtakes of the well-meaning Canon; but will take away all pretences of excuſe from Mr. Varillas, who without diſcretion embraces him as *irreproachable*. 2. It remains that we ſpeak ſomething to the former part of this paragraph; where we deny that in the London convocation held by Courtney, 1382, preaching without the epiſcopal licenſe was forbidden: for in that ſynod, it was only reſolved that Hereford and Reppingdon, and Ayſhton, ſhould be ſilenced and hindered from the pulpit: but for any general conſtitution to prohibit all men whatever from preaching without permiſſion from the ordinary, it was the act of Th. Arundel, ſucceſſor to Courtney in the ſee of Canterbury, who firſt procured it to be decreed. This may be ſeen in Lynwood[t] and Gaſcoign, famous authors of the century in which he lived. Nor are we bound to inquire if any of the little writers have ſaid the contrary; ſince it is the duty of an Hiſtorian, not to take the advantage of any authority, but to be reſtleſs till he has the beſt. In the late confuſed account of the convocation, I had almoſt let paſs without remark an intrigue of the duke of Lancaſter's, where he makes all the right of that prince to the kingdom of Caſtile to proceed from "an excommunication of the "king in poſſeſſion, and a donation of it to duke John by the "Pope" (p. 27. 40.); not knowing any thing of a propriety and juſt title he had acquired himſelf, by his marriage with Conſtance eldeſt daughter to the deceaſed king Piedro.

XXI. To make our laſt obſervation upon what we have undertaken to conſider. He relates the death of Wickliff, which

[t] Dict. Theol. Mſ. in Coll. Lincoln. Ox.

he

he repreſents as "an extraordinary act of God, in ſtriking him "with a mortal palſy, upon the Feaſt of St. Th. Becket, againſt "whom he had prepared a ſermon for the day." After that, he acquaints us, "That his ſcholars acknowledged him for a ſaint, "and attributed falſe miracles to him, till, in the year 1486, "Archbiſhop Arundel, in a Council at London, not content to "condemn his doctrines as before, did alſo burn his books by "the hand of the hangman," p. 45, &c.]

1. Thomas Becket is ſo well known, that no loyal Engliſhman can believe Providence would interpoſe in favour of him; which is ſtill the leſs probable at preſent, becauſe our better writers report this fit to have come upon Wickliff on the Feſtival of Holy Innocents, which is the day preceding. Dr. Gaſcoign [u], whoſe teſtimony about Wickliff muſt be unqueſtionable, has informed us, "that, having been troubled with a palſy for two years be-"fore, it then became fatal to him;" which, in the decayed ſtate of old age, after a life ſpent in action, and the original heat now of courſe abated, can be no wonder. If the Monks were reſolved not to let him die without a prodigy, it would have ſeemed much more plauſible and taking, had they inflicted upon him the rickets or the ſmall-pox. 2. If the ſcholars of Wickliff thought him a ſaint, and that he was aſſumed into glory, they did but as became men of reaſon and thoſe who had been witneſſes of the ſanctity of his life and purity of his doctrines. But for what follows about "the falſe miracles," it is ſheer invention; neither was Mr. Varillas very wary, to mention any thing of that nature in the ſame page with Thomas of Canterbury: for Wickliff's followers made no pilgrimages to Lutterworth, nor did they ever turn up the cloaks of their adverſaries to look for their tails. 3. As to the buſineſs of Arundel, and the "burning of "the books," which, in words at length, he makes to be done in the year 1486, it is impoſſible to be reconciled to truth: that action in reality fell out about the year 1410; ſo we are willing to think Mr. Varillas's pen has ſlipt, and by chance miſtaken a hundred years, and that he meant to aſcribe it to A. D. 1386. becauſe (in p. 42.) he tells us, "that, in the preceding year 1385, "Courtney died, and Arundel ſucceeded in the archbiſhoprick "of Canterbury:" which however is notoriouſly falſe; for

[u] In pag. ante Hiſt. Ivonis Carnotenſ. Mſ. in Bibl. Cotton.

Courtney

Courtney died not till July 31, 1396 (unleſs he died twice, in imitation of his predeceſſor Sudbury); and the ſame year, about Chriſtmas, was Arundel tranſlated to Canterbury.

I have at laſt, not without great violence uſed upon my inclination, paſſed through what relates to England in the Firſt Book of Mr. Varillas; and I think I may have deſerved as many livres for my patience, as he has had for his invention. If nothing will perſuade him to renounce his pen and ink; but he has ſworn ſtill to go on writing legends, to the utter deſtruction of Monſieur Barbin and his family, and to the everlaſting diſgrace of Mr. Cocquelin; and in the mean time is willing to continue his ſcene in England, I ſhall take the boldneſs to recommend to his fancy the renowned ſtory of the ten thouſand Urſulins, which at preſent labours under a few inconveniences, and is not ſo well received as it deſerves by ſome ſcrupulous hereticks. For the truth of what he ſhall ſay, I confeſs, I am not able to help him to any ſuch manuſcripts as he commonly makes uſe of; but in lieu, I can tell him where at a very cheap rate he may furniſh himſelf with witneſſes. But to let him know in truth what the world thinks of him: he has writ away all his credit; his laſt defence of himſelf has proved him inexcuſable, and made men apt to think that, as in England at preſent, ſo in France too, the ſame perſon that is Hiſtoriographer is alſo Laureat. Hence it might be, that Monſieur Varillas, in his "Revolutions," takes all the liberties of a Poet; and Mr. Dryden, in his conference between the "Hind and Panther," though in verſe, has aimed at all the plainneſs and gravity of an Hiſtorian.

For Hiſtory is indeed a ſerious matter; not to be written *carelеſsly*, like a letter to a friend; nor with *paſſion*, like a billet to a miſtreſs; nor with *braſs*, like a declamation for a party at the bar, or the remonſtrance of a miniſter for his prince; nor, in fine, by a man unacquainted with the world, like ſoliloquies and meditations. It requires a long experience, a ſound judgement, a cloſe attention, an unqueſtionable integrity, and a ſtyle without affectation: all which glorious accompliſhments, as they are wanting in the Author of "The Revolutions in Matters of "Religion;" ſo there is no Hiſtorian that I know of, in whom they have ſhewed themſelves to ſo high and admirable a degree,

as in a Phyſician of our Age [w], who has obliged the World with a "Hiſtory of Diſeaſes;" and whoſe name is too great to mention in a pamphlet of this character.

[w] Dr. *Sydenham* is probably the perſon intended. He was born in 1624: and, from 1660 to 1670, was the chief phyſician in London. He was of a generous, charitable, and public ſpirit, maſter of an elegant ſtyle, an exact obſerver of the ſymptoms of diſeaſes, and more famous for his works abroad, than he had been by his practice at home, which was greatly decreaſed after 1670, when he was extremely afflicted with the gout. He publiſhed "Obſervationes Medicæ circa Morborum "acutorum Hiſtoriam et Curationem," 1676, 8vo. He died Dec. 29, 1689. The beſt Edition of his Works is that in one volume, 8vo. tranſlated by John Swan of Newcaſtle, M. D. 1742.

The

The Belief of Dr. John Wickliff, in the point of the Euchariſt, which by heedleſs men has been called his Recantation.

" WE believe, as Criſt and his Apoſtolus han tauzt us, that " the Sacrament of the Auter white and ronde and like tyl oure " brede or oſt unſacrede is verray Goddus body in fourme of " brede; and if it be broken in thre parties os the Kirke uſes, or " elles in a thouſand, everlky one of theſe parties is the ſame " Godus body; and right ſo as the perſone of Criſt is verray God " and verray man, verray Godhede and verray manhede, ryth ſo as " holy Kyrk many hundrith wynter has trowyde, the ſame Sacra- " ment is verray Godus body and verray brede: os it is forme " of Goddus body and forme of brede, as techith Criſt and his " Apoſtolus. And therefore Seynt Poul nemyth it never but " whan he callus it bred, and he be oure beleve tok his wit of God " in this: and the argument of heretykus agayne this ſentens " lyeth to a Chriſtene man for to aſſolve. And right as it is he- " reſie for to trowe that this Sacrament is Goddus body and no " brede, for it is bothe togedur. But the moſt hereſie that God " ſufferide come tyl his Kyrke, is to trowe that this Sacrament is " an accident with a ſubſtance, and may on no wiſe be Goddus " body: for Criſt ſayde, be witneſſe of John, that this brede is my " body, and if the ſay that be this ſkylle that holy Kyrke hat bene " in hereſie many hundred wynter, ſothe it is, ſpecially ſythen the " fende was louſede that was be witneſſe of Angele to John " Evangeliſte aftur a thouſande wynter that Criſt was ſtenenyde " to heven. But it is to ſuppoſe that many ſeyntes that dyede in " the mene time before her detz were pureede of this erroure. " Owe howe grete diverſite is betwene us that trowes that this " Sacrament is very brede in his kynde, and betwene heretykus " that tell us that this an accident withouten a ſubjecte. For " before that the fende fader of leſyng us was lowſide, was never " this gabbing contryvede. And howe grete diverſite is betwene " us that trowes that this Sacrament that in is kinde is verray " brede and ſacramentally Goddus body, and betwe heretykes " that trowes and telles that this Sacrament may on none wyſe be

" Goddus body. For I dar ſewrly ſay, that zif this were ſoth, " Criſt and his ſeyntes dyede heretykus, and the more partye of " holy Kyrke belevyth nowe hereſie, and before devoute men " ſuppoſene this conſayle of Freres and London was with the " hery dene. For they put an hereſie upon Criſt and ſeynts in " hevyne: wherefore the erthe tremblide fayland maynnus voys " anſueryde for God als it dide in tyme of his paſſion whan he was " dambnyde to bodely deth. Criſt and his modur that in gronde " had deſtroyde all hereſyes kepe his Kyrke in right beleve of " this Sacrament, and wene the King and his rewme to aſk ſharply " of his clerkus this offis, that alle his poſſeſſioners on pain of " leſying of all her temporaltes telle the King and his rewme " with ſufficient grownding, what is this Sacrament, and alle the " orders of Freres on paine of leſying of her legians telle the " King and his rewme with gode grounding what is the Sacra- " ment. For I am certaine of the thridde partie of clergie that " defendus thiſe doutes that is here ſaide, that they will defende " it on paine of her lyf."

ANIMAD-

ANIMADVERSIONS
ON
A PRETENDED ACCOUNT
OF
DENMARK,

As it was in the Year 1692.

"I think it very pertinent to take notice, that in DENMARK "there are no ſeditions, mutinies, or libels againſt the govern- "ment."

Account of Denmark [a], p. 246.

First printed in 1694.

[a] Dr. *King's* references are to the editions of Lord *Moleſworth's* book publiſhed in 1694, it having paſſed through three editions in that year. From the *third*, which was ſaid in the Title to have been *corrected*, a fourth, carefully reviſed, was printed in 1738, with the very uſeful additions of Bp. Robinſon's Account of Sweden as it was in the year 1688; Mr. Jackſon's Memorial to the Court of Sweden on the conduct of Charles XII; Count Gyllemborg's Remarks on the Memorial, under the character of an Engliſh Merchant; and, A Narrative of the Death of Count Patkul.

*** The "Animadverſions on the Account of Denmark" were written at the requeſt of the Reverend Mr. Brink, Miniſter of the Daniſh Church in London; a perſon whoſe merit, travels, and knowledge of the world, have deſervedly gained him the favour of the preſent King of Denmark, upon whom he is now an attendant at Venice. From him, aſſiſted by his excellency Monſieur Scheel, who reſided here as envoy extraordinary, I had the memoirs which compoſed theſe papers, which had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highneſs Prince George [b]; and, when ſent to Denmark, were, by the late King's order, turned into French, and read to him as faſt as they could be tranſlated. They have had two editions that I have ſeen, one in Holland, and the other in Germany. I ſhould be ungrateful, if I did not likewiſe acknowledge the great honour which the Univerſity of Copenhagen did me, in a letter under the ſeal of that learned and flouriſhing body. I take it as one of my greateſt happineſſes, that, by the means of my acquaintance with Mr. Brink, I accompanied him to his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord Biſhop of London, with letters from the Biſhop of Copenhagen, teſtifying the reſpect he had for their Lordſhips, and juſt regard and veneration for the Church of England. As to the matters of fact laid down in theſe papers, I am no further accountable; but I believe none of them can be contradicted.

Dr. King's Preface to his Miſcellanies.

[b] They procured our Author the office of ſecretary to the princeſs Anne.

To Mr. MOLESWORTH[c].

SIR,

YOU have borne ſo great a character in the world, and have a reputation ſo univerſal, that I cannot but think thoſe people, who have fathered upon you "The Account of "Denmark," lately printed, have done it only with a deſign to injure you; for certainly a man of ſuch ſettled principles as you are, of thoughts ſo ſedate and compoſed, would never expoſe any thing to the public view, which you would not ſet your name to; and let the account of a country ſo conſiderable as Denmark be put forth without ſo much as any mention of the Licenſer or Printer, like a common pamphlet or lampoon. Monſieur Sorbiere[d] put his name to a ſcandalous deſcription of England; though he relates ſeveral paſſages altogether as inconſiderable and ridiculous as that the Deſcriber of Denmark tells us, p. 95, "That, "being a great lover of green geeſe, he could get none of the "country people; till a ſuperſtitious old woman told him, ſhe

[c] Robert Moleſworth, eſq. of Edlington in Yorkſhire. On the Revolution, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an early and zealous attachment to liberty; and in 1689 was ſent by king William envoy extraordinary to Denmark, at which court he reſided ſeveral years; and ſoon after his return publiſhed, in 1694, his Account of that kingdom, a work much talked of, tranſlated into many foreign languages, and almoſt immediately followed by theſe Animadverſions. Mr. Moleſworth wrote many other pieces in defence of liberty and the common rights of mankind. A diſcourſe of his, on Agriculture, is much commended by Dr. Swift, vol. ix. p. 363. He was member of the privy council in Ireland to queen Anne till, in January 1714, he was diſmiſſed on a complaint from the lower houſe of convocation. He was reſtored to his place at that board by king George I; who made him one of the commiſſioners of trade and plantations, and created him viſcount Moleſworth and baron of Philipſtown, July 16, 1716. He had publiſhed, the March preceding, a volume of Poems, inſcribed to the Princeſs Caroline, in a Dedication conſiſting of 47 pages; in which he foreſaw it would be objected that he had publiſhed a little Book for the ſake of the Dedication, as he had done once before [in his "Ac-"count of Denmark"] for the ſake of a Preface. The *Drapier's* Fifth Letter was addreſſed to his lordſhip Dec. 14, 1724; and he died on the 22d of May following.

[d] See above, p. 23.

" had four at his ſervice, imagining that otherwiſe the kite would " have them;" or rather, otherwiſe, being an old woman full of bowels (as hoſteſſes uſually are), being afraid that the gentleman ſhould loſe his longing.

Beſides, Sir, what man of ſenſe can think that a Gentleman of your parts would write ſo tedious a Preface [e], that has ſo little relation to the deſcription pretended, would ſpend three or four pages to perſuade the world, that " Liberty is eaſy," and " Health " is valuable;" things that were granted by the Author's great-grand-mother; would fling away four or five pages more, to inform the world, that *thinking men* may improve themſelves by converſation and travel. Whereas if that Author, inſtead of his important ſcraps of Latin, as " Toto diviſos orbe Britannos;" " Res eſt ridicula et nimis jocoſa [f];" had given us theſe two verſes of Horace [g],

" Dic mihi, Muſa, virum, captæ poſt tempora Trojæ,
" Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes;"

we ſhould have framed a greater idea of that advantage from Homer's character of Ulyſſes, and perhaps have found that he improved as much by viſiting the monſter Polypheme, as any of this Author's Diſciples may do, whom he would ſend for *maxims* as far as China and Japan, and to ſearch " for ſuch regulations of " government as are fit for models to the moſt civilized Euro- " peans amongſt the man-eaters and ſavage Americans;" who, being *great philoſophers*, muſt, in purſuance of this Author's advice, become *very excellent tutors*. Farther, Sir, I am not of opinion that you would have our Two Univerſities to reform their ſtatutes, and direct their ſtudies according to ſome new methods of modern learning; for, as their habits are the ſame " which " they wore in Harry the Eighth's time," and yet are ſtill very decent and becoming, ſo their old Philoſophy has likewiſe its peculiar uſes. We ſee by experience, that ſuch as neglect and deſpiſe the diſputations of the Schools, who laugh at the dark terms and ſubtilties of Ariſtotle and his nice Commentators, when they once come to writing, find the want of their Logick (for that and Grammar generally revenge themſelves upon their adverſaries). They trifle inſtead of arguing; their method is con-

[e] Dr. *Swift* ſays, *Moleſworth's* Preface is full of ſtale profligate topicks, and the Book itſelf written out of ſpite. Vol. xiii. p. 150.

[f] Altered from Catullus liv. 1.

[g] See Ep. I. ii. 19.

fuſed;

fuſed; and, when they ſhould urge any ſingle point, they run from one thing to another; and their diſcourſe is as lax and undigeſted as the Preface of that Author we are treating of.

Neither, Sir, can I imagine that you would have the nobility and gentry of any country "commit the education of their chil-"dren to Philoſophers, and not to Prieſts; and by the former "have moral virtues preached up to them, ſuch as fortitude, "temperance, and contempt of death; their inſtructors uſing "pious cheats, as Elyſian fields, &c. and by thoſe methods even "deceiving their hearers into greatneſs; theſe Philoſophers thus "excelling the managers of our modern education." For I ſuppoſe, Sir, you are ſenſible of the great benefits that youth receive, by being bred up under grave and religious Clergymen; for, though Tully's Offices be a very good book, yet the Bible, in my opinion, is a better. Beſides Morality, which youth ought to be inſtructed in, they are likewiſe to be taught how to be good Chriſtians; and there is, to my knowledge, an eminent ſchool in this nation, where the youth are not trained up "only to the un-"derſtanding of words and languages" (though at the ſame time thoſe are taught there with the greateſt accuracy); where they are kept in a ſenſe of duty and obedience to their ſuperiors, by a certainty of future puniſhments to them that tranſgreſs, and everlaſting happineſs to ſuch as do well; where they are conſtantly called upon to give a ſenſible and rational account of their faith, I mean that contained in the Catechiſm, Homilies, and Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; where there is no day paſſes without their reading a conſiderable portion of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages: and a better foundation is laid for a greatneſs of mind and contempt of death, from the example of our bleſſed Saviour, than can be framed from any pattern amongſt the Grecian and Roman heroes. However it comes to paſs, the Author, among all the Roman heroes, has unfortunately pitched upon Brutus, "as the true pattern and model of exact virtue:" and yet, in relation to the death of Cæſar, all circumſtances conſidered, a youth that is bred up to a ſenſe of gratitude, honour, or common juſtice, will look upon him as ungrateful, and a baſe aſſaſſinate; and will neceſſarily deſpiſe him, when he ſees him deſerting that virtue which he pretended to admire, and in a ſullen deſpair exclaiming againſt it as an empty name. A very fine

model indeed for a man of quality, and which muſt affect him much more when he ſhall "find the practices of perſons of the "like ſtamp, in this particular, founded upon reaſon, juſtice, and "truth, and unanimouſly approved of by moſt of the ſucceeding "wiſe men which the world has produced." I ſhould be glad to ſee a liſt of thoſe wiſe men who were of his opinion, that I may be ſatisfied whether our Author has done juſtice to Ravilliac [h] and ſome other heroes of this latter age; and that our Author's own name (if his courage be equal to his inclination) may be added to it upon occaſion.

Moreover, Sir, there are ſeveral obſervations and political maxims throughout the whole Preface, which favour very much of a commonwealth, and would not well become any perſon that has had the honour to ſerve their Majeſties [i], or that heartily conſults their real intereſt or the glory of the Engliſh nation. For in the firſt place he ſays, "If we look backwards, it is a true "reflection, that our late kings half undid us, and bred us up "narrow-ſpirited ſo long, till the world had almoſt overlooked "us, and we ſeldom were permitted to caſt an eye farther than "France or Holland." If peace, eaſe, and plenty, could be ſaid to undo us, we were indeed undone; and then as for our ignorance of the affairs of other nations, we muſt neceſſarily be in a moſt profound one, when we had our miniſters at Cologne, and afterwards at Nimeguen; when the King of England's mediation was accepted by all the princes then in war, and the pretenſions of the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Europe left to his Majeſty's arbitration. But it ſeems at preſent we are in a better condition; and the Preface, to our comfort, tells us, "that we make "a greater figure in the world than formerly, and have a right to "intermeddle in the affairs of Europe." And here a true Engliſhman may think that ſomething has been ſaid to the honour of his country: when, alas! if he reads but the next page (for the Author cannot write conſiſtently two pages together), he will find, "that we do not live up to our poſt, and maintain our character; "that we are inſulted on our own coaſts, our trade endangered, "and in apprehenſion every year of an invaſion and a French con-"queſt." Not in ſuch diſmal apprehenſions neither, Sir! for, as

[h] The aſſaſſinator of Henry the Fourth of France.
[i] King William and Queen Mary.

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our "ancient yeomanry and commonalty could draw the long "bow, and handle the brown bill," ſo their ſons will charge a muſket, or draw a ſword, in defence of the public liberty and the right of their Majeſties, againſt any commonwealth's-men or foreigners that ſhall dare to invade them. The Author ſeems to have inſerted theſe paſſages to ſhew himſelf impartial, and to let the Danes *ſee* that *they* have no great reaſon to complain of ill uſage, ſince he is as ſcurrilous upon his own countrymen.

In the ſecond place, to come to ſome other of his obſervations; it may very poſſibly be proved, in contradiction to what he has advanced, "that the *jus divinum* of kings and princes was a no-"tion in the Northern parts of the world, long before theſe later "ages of ſlavery;" that is, before Milton ever wrote, or England ſuffered under the tyranny of a commonwealth. Even paſſive obedience, however unintelligible to this Author, as ſtated by reverend and learned Divines, though it ſhould ſtill be maintained by them under their preſent Majeſties, would be more ſuitable to ſovereign authority, and the welfare of theſe nations, than any doctrines ſince coined: for the Eccleſiaſticks eſtabliſhed by the laws of this realm are ſo far from "having an intereſt ſeparate "from, and oppoſite to, the publick," as our Author would inſinuate, that no perſons have defended the true conſtitution of the Engliſh government with greater temper and hazards. Now the conſtitution of England, as ſet forth by them, is, That the King's prerogative be kept ſacred; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal have their authority and honours ſupported; that the privileges as well as properties of the Commons be inviolably preſerved. When any of theſe have been encroached upon by the other, the Engliſh clergy have in all ages made a vigorous ſtand; and the public liberty has been ſo dear to them, that many of them have ſacrificed their own freedom to it.

Sir, I ſhall not trouble you much longer; only tell you, that a principal reaſon why we ſhould not take this Book to be yours, is a remark which may be found in authors that treat concerning Ambaſſadors, *viz.* that he ought "to be no detractor or ſpeaker-"ill of any king or ſtate, but more eſpecially of him or them "with whom he remains." The reaſons are plain, becauſe detraction is beneath the honour of the Prince whoſe character he ſuſtains; and then ſuch actions would make Ambaſſadors from

ſuch

ſuch a Prince be treated for the future rather as ſpies and enemies, than as men whoſe perſons are to be held ſacred. We are of opinion, that nothing could make you ſwerve from this rule; and that no provocation could force you to it. However, there are two things that happened in Denmark, which to another man might give ſome ſmall occaſion, and are as follow. It ſeems, an Envoy there, who had been above three years in the Daniſh court, where at firſt he was very welcome, became at laſt to be very diſagreeable, by boldly pretending to ſome privileges, that by the cuſtom of the country are denied to every body. There is throughout all Sealand a double road; one is common to all people; the other, called "the King's Road," is reſerved to his Majeſty of Denmark and attendants; this is ſhut up with ſeveral gates, and has great ditches on both ſides of it. The Envoy, travelling one day to Helſingor, was reſolved to paſs this way in his chariot, and accordingly did ſo, after he had broken down the gates; which action as it would have been a great miſdemeanor in any Dane, ſo it was reſented by the Court as a rudeneſs in a foreigner.

At another time, this ſame Envoy went to the iſle of Amack, near Copenhagen, where abundance of hares are kept for the King of Denmark's game, and that with ſo much care, that any man is ſeverely puniſhable who preſumes to kill one of them, unleſs in the king's company; however, this Gentleman was reſolved to have a *courſe*; but, in his way thither, was accoſted by one of the King's huntſmen, who deſired him to ſend his dogs back, otherwiſe he was in duty obliged to ſhoot them. Inſtead of any reply to this, one of the Envoy's footmen cut the keeper over the head with his ſword: the man, all bloody as he was, went preſently to Count Reventlaw, great maſter of the game, and made his complaint to him. Theſe actions being repreſented to the King, his Majeſty was extremely offended at them, and ſhewed it by the cold reception the Envoy afterwards met with at court; who was likewiſe given to underſtand, that he was not very welcome there. Upon this, pretending buſineſs into Flanders, he retired thither without any audience of leave, and from thence went home, where his Maſter would have had him return, and perform that ceremony; but he rather choſe to loſe the preſents given upon thoſe occaſions, than viſit a court again that had been ſo juſtly offended

with him: and yet pretended to be angry, becauſe he had not this uſual preſent for Envoys, which his own rudeneſs and abſence deprived him of.

Even theſe things could ſcarce ever ſour a Gentleman's temper, ſo far as to make him beſpatter a whole country, as the Author of the "Account of Denmark" has done; to conceal ſeveral things that would have been for the credit of that nation; to ſet truth in ſuch a light, as to appear quite different from itſelf in the relation; and to advance a great many particulars in which he may be plainly contradicted.

I would not, Sir, believe any thing like this of you; and therefore ſhall proceed with the more freedom in examining the book itſelf.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE PRETENDED

ACCOUNT OF DENMARK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Territories belonging to the King of Denmark, and their Situation.

DENMARK has always had a particular intereſt with England: our very anceſtors came originally from one of its provinces; it has once been our maſter, and we are now governed by princes whoſe great-grand-mother was a daughter of it; nor can there be any dearer pledge of the Daniſh affection to us, than that the only brother to its King reſides amongſt us, and has made us happy in a young Prince, who promiſes one day to equal the great families from which he is deſcended [k].

Whilſt 7000 Danes are fighting for us in their Majeſties ſervice, it is very ungenerous in the Author of the "Account" to reflect upon them; who, if he muſt have been malicious, ſhould rather have choſen an enemy's country for the ſubject of his ſatire.

[k] Prince William was born July 24, 1689, and nominated duke of Glouceſter; but died, before his creation, July 30, 1700. In 1696, the day he was ſeven years old, he was inſtalled knight of the Garter. In 1698, his houſehold was ſettled; the Earl of Marlborough being appointed his Governor, and Bp. Burnet his Preceptor; who ſays, "he uſed all endeavours to excuſe himſelf;" but, after he had entered on his charge at the King's expreſs command, gives an ample account of his royal pupil's progreſs in literature. See his Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 290. 340.

If

If we conſider the frequent applications that have been made, both by the Confederates and the French King, to have the King of Denmark declare in their favour, we ſhall be apt to look upon him as a Prince that is very conſiderable, and not agree with this Author, who tells us, p. 2, "that, if he were put in balance "with the King of Portugal, he would be found lighter." This is a compariſon no reaſonable man would be guilty of making; for the armies, navy, and ſtrength, of the former will certainly very much overpoiſe the latter: and then Denmark lies ſo as to be able to make uſe of theſe advantages, either to the offending of its enemies, or relief of its friends: and though Portugal has a good Eaſt India trade; yet the commodities of Denmark and Norway, eſpecially thoſe that relate to ſhipping, make its trade neceſſary to Portugal itſelf and moſt other countries in Europe.

Beſides, the kingdom of Denmark, with all its provinces, is very large, inſomuch that the firſt words of this Author's book are, p. 1, "That if we conſider the extent of the King of Den-"mark's dominions, he may with juſtice be reckoned amongſt "the greateſt princes of Europe." For though Schone, Halland, and Blegind, by treaty remain to the Swedes, yet I cannot allow this Author what he ſays, p. 3, "that they were the beſt provinces "belonging to Denmark." Nor do I really think that he has a ſufficient knowledge, which provinces are the moſt conſiderable; for he ſeems only to have been in Copenhagen and thereabouts: the reaſon is, becauſe what he ſpeaks as to the nature and conſtitution of Denmark, in relation to the fertility of the country, or the common life of the people, can in no manner be applied to any other part but to Sealand only, where Copenhagen ſtands, and is not above a fourth part of Denmark. Now this iſland, lying under the diſadvantages of a particular law, is not in ſo good a condition as the other provinces; though that, and a great deal of Jutland, is ſtill better than either Halland or Blegind; and though Schone be a fine province, yet it does no way excel Funen, as well as other parts of Denmark. However, this Author ſays, p. 3, "that theſe three provinces are ſtill looked "upon by the Danes with a very envious eye; and for this "reaſon it is reported that the windows of Croneborg caſtle, "whoſe proſpect lay towards Schone, were walled up, that ſo "hateful

"hateful an object might not cauſe continual heart-burnings." Very well, Sir; pray did "your own knowledge or experience "confirm this to be a truth?" (p. 2.) or did ſome of your "ſenſible grave perſons," p. 2, impoſe this ſilly ſtory upon you? For, when you was at Croneborg, you might have found that ſome windows were indeed walled up for the advantage of the fortreſs, but not to hinder the ſight of Schone; the ſituation of Croneborg being ſuch, that now thoſe windows are cloſe, yet Schone muſt be ſeen from the apartments of both the other ſides; ſo that, to make this ſuggeſtion true, all the rooms muſt be quite darkened; and then, Sir, it would be a fit place in which you might employ your fancy and invention in framing more ſuch ſtories: nay, this fable is ſo ridiculous, that, if the King of Denmark ſhould avoid the pretended "heart-burnings occaſioned "by ſeeing Schone," p. 3, he muſt not only forbear coming to Croneborg, but alſo leave Copenhagen and that ſide of Sealand oppoſite to Schone, and muſt alſo chuſe his reſidence in Jutland, or ſome other remote place, where he could be free from that hateful object.

Though, indeed, were Denmark, as he repreſents it, p. 4, (comprehending all its iſlands), "no bigger than two thirds of Ire-"land;" the loſs of a province or two would be of a very tender concern to it. But, Sir, where people have any knowledge of geography, and underſtand how to meaſure a map, they will find that Denmark, as it now remains, has much more ground than there is in all Ireland. It is indeed a needleſs trouble that I have given myſelf to confute this remark in the Author's fourth page, becauſe his firſt hath already contradicted it to my hand.

Poor Norway falls next under his cenſure, p. 4, as having a very dangerous and unhoſpitable ſhore; we muſt look for nothing there but wrecks; for when the night, or a ſtorm, overtakes poor mariners, the *deep ſea* and *high rocks* never fail to accompliſh their ruin. And this diſmal relation may be very true, for any thing this Author knows to the contrary. The coaſt of Norway is indeed high and rocky; but all along the ſame there are ports very near to one another, ſo that, with a very little knowledge of that ſea, you may every where find a harbour behind the rocks, and ſhelter from the greateſt ſtorms: and any ſeaman, who is acquainted with that voyage, will tell you, that

he

he would ten times rather venture amongſt the rocks of Norway in a ſtorm, than the ſands of England: the reaſon is, becauſe he may there find ſhelter in every place, but here are not ſo many entrances between the ſands. What he ſays, "that there is no "anchorage for ſhips," p. 4, is another proof of his exact information; for in ſeveral places there is anchorage half a league and more into the ſea: and where there is no ſuch before the land, there is, as has been mentioned, a ſafe entrance between the rocks, to anchor there.

However the Author may have ſtreightened the King of Denmark as to his dominions in Europe, yet he has given him a prodigious fort in the Eaſt-Indies, which he calls Tranquebar, p. 6: and this is another inſtance of his extraordinary accuracy; for, if it be a fort, it is of a great many miles extent. The coaſt indeed, upon which the Danes have built, is by the Indians called Tranquebar; but the fort itſelf has never had any other name than Daneborg.

But to come to a general character of the King of Denmark's dominions. According to the Account, p. 6, "they all lie under "this great inconveniency, that they are mightily disjoined and "ſeparated from each other; and that to this principally the "conqueſts which the Swedes have gained upon them may be "aſcribed."

Firſt, the Daniſh provinces are not ſo mightily ſeparated as this gentleman would perſuade us, ſince a ſound of 4, 5, or 7 leagues is the greateſt diſtance between any of them: only Norway, indeed, is further off; but then it can maintain and defend itſelf.

Secondly, this pretended inconvenience is a real advantage, eſpecially againſt the incurſions of any foreign enemy: and this truth was demonſtrated in the famous war with Sweden; for, had not the ſignal diſpoſition of Providence frozen up the Belt to that degree as was never remembered before nor happened ſince, the Swedes could not have beſieged the capital city of that kingdom; for the ſtreams which divide the provinces of Denmark afford them this ſecurity, that, ſo long as the royal navy is ſafe, Copenhagen, which is the main ſtrength of that country, can fear nothing.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Denmark in particular, and the Iſland of Sealand.

BUT to what end have we laboured hitherto, in the foregoing Chapter? Let the country be never ſo large, if at the ſame time it be barren, the extent of it ſignifies little. Sealand is that unhappy province, "whoſe fertility cannot be commended" by the Author, it having no "bread corn (p. 8.) except rye," which he owns "to be in good quantity." I hitherto thought that, when a field was ſown with grain, if the crop anſwered the utmoſt expectation of its owner, the field might be commended for its fertility; and if, upon the Author's arrival, he did not find wheat got ready on purpoſe for him, it was becauſe, rye bread being more acceptable to the Daniſh nation, and agreeing better with their health and conſtitution, the farmer hoped to make a better market of his rye amongſt his countrymen, than he ſhould do of wheat to fatten *green geeſe* or *cram capons* for his Worſhip.

And indeed we ſhall find as little reaſon for his being diſguſted at the air of the country which, he ſays, p. 8, "is but indif-"ferent, eſpecially in and near Copenhagen, occaſioned by fre-"quent fogs, and its low ſituation." Any body who has been in Sealand muſt allow the air to be very good. Copenhagen has only the inconvenience which all populous cities are ſubject to, in not having it quite ſo clear as in the country; though the wholeſomeneſs of it appears by the healthineſs of the inhabitants: and as to fogs (which they are ſeldom troubled with), no man ought to complain of them, who may very probably have lived in Dublin.

He is juſt to the country for ſix lines, in telling us, "the face "of the land is pleaſant," &c. p. 9; and "that there is a moſt "excellent port belonging to Copenhagen:" but he preſently comes to himſelf, and ſays, "they have no other ports in the "kingdom; nor indeed much occaſion in Sealand, ſince they "have no commodities to ſhip from them."

Notwithſtanding this Gentleman's intelligence, there are very good ſea-ports throughout all Denmark, of which I ſhall mention the following only, each of them capable of harbouring veſſels

veſſels of 200 tun or more. In Sealand; Corſoer, Callundborg, Holbeck, Wordingborg, &c. In Funen; Nyborg, Aſſens, Kierſeminde, &c. In Jutland; Aalborg, Aarhus, Horſens, Rinkiobing, &c. In Falſter; Laland, &c. Nakſkow, Nykiobing, &c. too many here to enumerate. And then from Sealand there is a conſiderable quantity of corn ſent every year to Norway; and the laſt year but one, viz. 1692, abundance likewiſe was carried to Holland. The reaſon why there may not be ſo much exported at preſent as has been heretofore is becauſe, contrary to what he affirms, p. 10, "That the number of the inhabitants "are not encreaſed," the inhabitants of Copenhagen are twice as many as they were twenty years ago.

Corn indeed would be much ſcarcer, if the King's game were ſo arbitrary as he pretends, p. 9, to make them; and thoſe "ſacred things might range the fields, and no man dare to touch "them." The countrymen, I will aſſure you, Sir, are not obliged to you for the law you have newly made them; ſince they have in Denmark hitherto had an equal liberty as in other countries, to diſturb their entertainment.

Come we now to the buſineſs of their eating, in which the reflector ſeems to be extremely curious. Some one burgher of Copenhagen has undoubtedly diſobliged him with an ill dinner, which was a wonder; for their way of eating and drinking is ſo far above meanneſs, that it rather inclines to luxury; three or four diſhes of ſeveral meats is but a common dinner for the middle people, and generally their ſupper equals it. Nay, the very boors throughout all Denmark and Norway will not be ſatisfied, if they have not their three meals a day, and thoſe commonly of warm meat; ſo that, when the countryman in England is contented with his bread and cheeſe to ſupper, the Daniſh and Norſh peaſants muſt have their pot on the fire, or elſe they will go to their *feather-beds* (than which, our Author ſays, no man can have ***better***, p. 88,) with great uneaſineſs. It is true, meat and fiſh when ſalted is more acceptable to the Danes, as well as other Northern people, and agrees better with their conſtitution; and it would be a hardſhip inſtead of a delicacy to them, to have ſo much freſh meat as is cuſtomary in England. But, were the diet of the burghers even as hard as he deſcribes it, yet I am credibly informed that the ſervants of a public Miniſter

there (who ſhall be nameleſs) would have been very glad to partake of it; ſince their maſter's houſe-keeping was ſo far from abounding, that they found too frequent occaſions to complain openly. And whereas the Author of the Account ſays, p. 10, 11, that, "if the inſpectors of the Engliſh market ſhould come "to thoſe of Copenhagen, they would find the victuals bad "enough to be ſent only to the priſons;" thoſe poor ſervants would have been infinitely obliged, ſhould they in pity have commanded an officer to ſtop and ſet his baſket down now and then at his Excellency's.

Their peaſants live as plentifully as in other countries; they have good fleſh and ſalt fiſh, white meats, roots, &c. But what ſignifies all this (according to our Author, p. 11) ſince neceſſary "freſh fiſh is wanting?" I could heartily condole their condition, if my tenants in Northampton and Leiceſterſhire would not take exception; for, if they found me once ſo indulgent to the peaſants of another nation, they would certainly expect a double barrel of Colcheſter oyſters by the next carrier; and without a cod's head, ſmelts, or turbot, I might e'en go to plow myſelf for Hodge and Sawney.

But what is moſt admirable to me is, that there can be any thing fit to eat throughout all Denmark, ſince, according to this Author's deſcription, p. 11, it ſeems to be exempted from part of the common promiſe which God made to Noah and mankind, "that, while the earth remaineth, ſeed-time and harveſt, and "cold and heat, and ſummer and winter, and day and night, "ſhall not ceaſe[1];" for he ſays, p. 11, "that at Copenhagen, "and in all Denmark, they never have ſpring, and ſeldom au-"tumn." This aſſertion could proceed only from ſuch a one as in his Preface he calls "a very traveller, or at leaſt an ill-"natured and unthinking perſon," ſince ſo many people are able to confute him as have ever lived there but a twelvemonth. Then for thoſe three months of June, July and Auguſt, which he calls ſummer, he has provided ſufficient plagues for them; firſt, "the interpoſition of thick vapours," &c. p. 11; which, upon examination, will be found to be only clouds in his own underſtanding. Secondly, his plague of flies, of which he has

[1] Gen. viii. 22.

"ſeen

" ſeen whole buſhels ſwept together in one room, p. 12." A buſhel, ſir! (if of Wincheſter meaſure) will hold a great many flies: and what makes this ſeem more incredible is, that Domitian the imperial fly-killer, though in Italy (a very hot country), when he had taken his half-peck, thought he had had very plentiful game.

The city of Copenhagen does not more abound in flies, than it is on the contrary wanting in fiſh; for the Author, p. 12, " never knew a ſea town of that conſequence worſe ſerved with " it." The Baltick indeed is not ſo well ſtored with fiſh, as ſome other ſeas; but yet in Copenhagen there is ſea fiſh, as cod, flounders, &c. brought from other places, and ſold there very cheap. The reaſon why it is not ſtill cheaper, by being brought thither as it might be in greater plenty, is becauſe their freſh-water fiſh is in vaſt quantities, and, as he ſays, p. 92, " makes *full* " amends, there being the beſt carp, tench, perch and crawfiſh; " that are to be found any where."

He now leads us to a deſcription of the city of Copenhagen, p. 12; " for (it ſeems) when he has done that, he ſhall have " little more to ſay of any other in the King of Denmark's do- " minions, there being no other belonging to him much better " than our town of St. Albans." Perhaps the Gentleman did not travel much in the country, and ſo ſpeaks only as to his own knowledge; but other people, who have ſeen more, are of opinion and think that Ribe, Aarhuus, Aalborg, Odenſe, &c. beſides ſeveral cities in Norway and other of the King's dominions, as Bergen, Trundhiem, Chriſtiania, Gluckſtadt, Flenſborg, Haderſleben, &c. if they were allotted an impartial ſurveyor, would appear to be much better than our town of St. Albans, which at preſent ſtands ſo fair in this Author's good graces.

But, though Copenhagen is the beſt place belonging to the King of Denmark; " yet it is no ancient city, nor a very large " one; it comes neareſt to Briſtol, and increaſes in buildings " daily," p. 12. Copenhagen was founded in the twelfth century, anno 1168; and as to its largeneſs, it may moſt properly be compared with Dublin, which is the ſecond city in the King of England's dominions. He is *juſt* to the port of Copenhagen, in about a page and an half, p. 13, 14; but it is, that he may find the greater faults with the other things that belong to it.

" The air," he ſays, " is bad, by reaſon of the ſtink of the chan-" nels which are cut through the city," p. 14. In the 8th page, he attributes the badneſs of the air " to the fogs and low ſitua-" tion;" but here to the channels, which are indeed rather an ornament and convenience to it than otherwiſe. Heretofore there might ſome ſmall offence proceed from them, when they were in the nature of Fleet-ditch in London: but now, by the order of his preſent Majeſty, they are cut quite through the city, the ſea going in on one ſide, and out at the other; and are ſo very large, that a ſtout man of war may ride croſs the city and round the caſtle.

" The works of the town," he ſays, " are only of earth and " ſods," p. 14. So much the better; ſtone walls, we know, are of no great ſtrength againſt cannons: and when he tells us, " theſe works are in tolerable good repair;" he ſhould in common juſtice have ſaid ſomething of the extraordinary good order they are kept in. " The buildings," as he deſcribes them, " are generally mean being cage-work;" not conſidering that cage-work is more in eſteem there than plaiſter, as being more convenient and durable, and contrived generally ſo as to appear very handſome; not but that there are abundance of very good brick houſes that are built by the citizens, as well as others more magnificent belonging to the nobility.

" As to the public buildings, King Chriſtian the Fourth did " more than all the ſucceeding princes" (ſays our Author). It is very ſtrange, that King Chriſtian ſhould do more " than all " his ſucceſſors put together," p. 15; which *all* (after this bluſter), if added together, will amount to but *two only*, the father and ſon; of which the ſon has augmented the beauty of the city very conſiderably. The great objection againſt them all is, that they have " forgot or delayed the building of a palace, the King's " houſe of reſidence being the worſt in the world," p. 15. As for new buildings, the preſent King is content with the garden-houſe of Roſenborg, and with the delicious caſtle of Frederickſburg, till his affairs will permit him to finiſh a palace, that has been long deſigned to be built by the ſeaſide, near this King's new market. In the mean time the old caſtle is acceptable enough to their Majeſties, by reaſon of that affection which is naturally borne to things that have been poſſeſſed and are left by ſeveral

anceſtors.

anceſtors. This caſtle is venerable for its antiquity, part of it having been the firſt houſe that was built in Copenhagen. Certainly this palace ought to be preſerved, at leaſt to ſhew the citizens how much they are at preſent advanced, and to what height his Majeſty has raiſed them; ſince ſubjects now are not ſatisfied with ſuch buildings and apartments as are thought ſufficient for the royal family, and were ſo for their predeceſſors. This ſignal inſtance ſhould have been brought by our Author, to prove the pride of abſolute monarchs, and the miſery of the Daniſh nation; viz. in his own words, p. 15, "That ſeveral of "the noblemen, as his high excellency Guldenlew, the great "admiral Juel, with others, are infinitely better lodged than the "whole royal family."

Had the Author been reſolved to do Denmark the leaſt favour or juſtice, he might as well have ſpoken a little of the curioſities that were in Copenhagen, as, without reaſon, have ſpent his time in blaming its air, buildings, and fortifications. For certainly in Copenhagen a traveller may find many things worth his obſervation; the Exchange is none of the worſt; the arſenal one of the beſt in Europe; the canals very fine; the round ſteeple of Trinity church, built according to the directions of Chriſtian Longomontan, the diſciple of Tycho Brahe, and profeſſor of mathematicks in Copenhagen, is without queſtion a moſt noble piece of curioſity, the like being not to be found elſewhere; for a coach and horſes may aſcend to the top, and yet the height of it comes very near that of the Monument of London. This ſteeple conſiſts of arches; and over the church, which is all of brick without any timber, is the library of the Univerſity as large as the church. But as for the Univerſity of Copenhagen, he never ſo much as takes any notice of it. Here politicks and ſatire took up his time ſo much, that he had no leiſure for the Belles Lettres, "or genteeler learning," p. 255. So he gives us no account of the King's library, nor of ſeveral others belonging to the Univerſity; which, as they are very conſiderable for other things, ſo particularly for the preſervation of the antiquities of thoſe Northern nations: nor of the admirable Muſeum, belonging to the King of Denmark, which is in the ſame palace with the royal library, full of all the moſt exquiſite rarities of art and nature; and which, after the death of the learned Olaus

Wormius, was conſiderably augmented with his famous cloſet, one of the beſt in the world for the many curious antiquities it contained, which he bequeathed to the King, and of which the learned world has a printed account in a large folio.

He ſpeaks nothing of the beauty, largeneſs, and magnificence, of the churches both within and without; nor of the extraordinary height of the two ſteeples belonging to the churches of the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas; nor of the fine organs, eſpecially that of St. Mary's church, lately made by a Daniſh maſter; which, for its prodigious largeneſs, is ſcarcely to be paralleled any where amongſt the Proteſtants. Neither doth this curious Gentleman mention the King's new market, a very fine and large place, in the middle of which ſtands the King's ſtatue on horſeback, very artificially caſt in lead; and is ſurrounded with the fineſt palaces of the town, as Count Guldenlew's, Admiral Juel's, &c. But moſt of all this Author's negligence is to be admired, that he diſdains to ſpeak a word of the great new work on Chriſtian's-haven; which is a new city by itſelf, lying on the iſland of Amack, but joined to Copenhagen. This new work is a vaſt fortification oppoſite to the citadel of Copenhagen, which is ſituated near the cuſtom-houſe and entrance of the harbour; ſo that on both ſides theſe two fortreſſes command both the port and almoſt all the city round about, and render the fortifications of the city itſelf ſo much the ſtronger, and in a manner impregnable. And in this new work of Chriſtian's-haven, two things are very conſiderable: firſt, that all the ground contained in the fort is, by incredible labour and induſtry, made out of the midſt of the water; and then, that this ground is of ſo conſiderable an extent, that a town may be built upon it: and it is ſaid that his Daniſh Majeſty hath appointed this to be the dwelling-place of the Jews of Copenhagen.

By theſe inſtances (which yet are not all that are worth a man's curioſity in Copenhagen) the impartial Reader may gueſs, how unjuſt the Author has been in his deſcription of this antient and royal city, and how far he may rely upon the reſt of his relations of theſe two Northern kingdoms and annexed provinces: ſeeing, when he pretends to deſcribe Copenhagen, he mentions nothing of Chriſtian's-haven; juſt as if he ſhould ſpeak of London, and forget Southwark.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Sound.

THE Author ſays, p. 11, "The two principal things in Sea-"land, and indeed of all Denmark, are the city of Copen-"hagen, and the paſſage of the Sound." Having done with the city, he comes to this ſtreight, which lies between the firm land of Schone and the iſland of Sealand.

The King of Denmark claims a toll of all ſhips that paſs through it, except the Swedes, who are exempted from it by treaty; yet this writer, according to the freedom which men of his principle generally uſe with the crowned heads, pretends to queſtion the King of Denmark's title, p. 21, and ſays it is "ſlightly "grounded."

I ſhall not enter upon matters of ſtate, nor pretend to give a particular account of the original Records that contain the immemorial continuance and ſucceſſion of claims which the Kings of Denmark have made to this ſea, and right of toll in it. The King who pretends to and enjoys this toll is able enough to give reaſons for it, and to maintain his pretenſions. However, I cannot but remark, that there are ſeveral paſſages in this chapter, which I cannot well imagine to have fallen from the pen of an Engliſhman: as, where he ſays, "The title to the toll is precarious," p. 23, "as founded upon a breach of truſt, it being at firſt only to "provide lights for ſecuring the paſſage of merchants through "the Sound. That it is a kind of ſervile acknowledgment of the "King's ſovereignty of thoſe ſeas," p. 22. "That the title is not ſo "firm as the Danes could wiſh for; not being maſters of the land "on both ſides, they may have the right, but not the power to "aſſert it," p. 17. For an Engliſhman knows, that although our King is bound to protect all ſtrangers that paſs through his Narrow ſeas, yet his ſovereignty does not ariſe from thence; but, becauſe of his ſovereignty, he is therefore bound to protect them: ſo the King of Denmark, being lord of the paſſage of the Sound, ought to provide for the ſafety of ſuch as ſhould ſail thorough it; his dominion not being founded on that, but that being a neceſſary conſequence of his dominion. In the ſecond place, acknowledgement has always been reckoned by Engliſhmen to become due, in recompence of ſuch protection and conveniences afforded;

and therefore our Kings demanded contribution for the ſhips that defended the fiſhing of foreigners. And where is the ſervility any more in paying a toll to the King of Denmark for paſſing his Sound, than in that acknowledgment which all ſhips, according to the law made by King John to maintain it, muſt make to thoſe of the King of England, by ſtriking a flag when they ſail through his Narrow ſeas, or in the paying anchorage, or for the lights to the Trinity-houſe?

Thirdly, as to the caſe between Sweden and Denmark (though Denmark has no reaſon to imagine there will be ſuch a pretenſion from thence, or to fear it if there ſhould), it is the ſame with France and the Engliſh. For King Edgar and King Cnute, who were as great defenders of the ſovereignty as any of our princes, had their dominions many ages before any of their ſucceſſors laid claim to France. And the French, notwithſtanding all their power, have not pretended to the ſovereignty of the Narrow ſeas becauſe they live upon one of the coaſts of them.

The Author would inſinuate further, "That the Engliſh pay "this toll, through the connivance of King James the Firſt, in "prejudice of his own ſubjects, who favoured the Danes upon "account of his marriage to a daughter of that crown," p. 22. If King James favoured them upon his alliance to that crown, our Author ſhould on the ſame account, if he had any manners, have done ſo too; but, ſetting aſide this reflection on the memory of King James, it is certain, the Kings of England have ſucceſſively paid this toll in the Sound, and have been ſo wiſe and juſt, not to encroach ſo far upon a ſovereign head as to preſcribe him laws what to do in ſuch ſeas as are his unqueſtionable dominions.

In the other particulars of the account which he gives us concerning the Sound, he ſeems not to know what kind of paſſage it is. He ſays, p. 22, "It is very well known, that the paſſage of "the Sound is not the only one to the Baltick ſea, there being two "others, called the greater and leſſer Belts; and that of the greater "Belt ſo commodious and large, that, during the late wars, the "whole Dutch fleet choſe to paſs through it, and continue in it "for four or five months together." Whereas, in truth, the Sound is the only convenient one; the leſſer Belt is unpaſſable for large ſhips; and the greater is ſo full of rocks and ſands, that nothing can be more dangerous. To be ſure, had the Dutch found it practicable to uſe this paſſage, which it ſo large that it cannot poſſibly

poſſibly be ſtopt with a fortreſs, they had done it long ago. It is very true, the Dutch fleet did continue there four or five months together, but it was much againſt their will: for, coming into it, they were ſo endangered by rocks and ſtorms, that they were forced to make ſo very ſlow a motion, in order to their eſcape with greater ſafety; neither does the Author tell us what loſs and damage they received, which indeed was very conſiderable.

In the ſame page we are likewiſe informed, "that the breadth "of the Sound, in the narroweſt part, is four Engliſh miles over, "and every where of a ſufficient depth, ſo that the King of Den-"mark's caſtles could not command the channel when he was "maſter of both ſides; much leſs now he has but one." This Gentleman is reſolved never to meaſure right; for, if he had, he would have learnt that the Sound is but three Engliſh miles broad, when it is truly meaſured; beſides, had he aſked any ſkipper that uſually paſſes that way, he would have found that it is ſo far from being every where of a ſufficient depth, that on the ſide of Sweden the water is ſo ſhallow, that it is impoſſible for a ſhip to paſs, unleſs it be within the reach of the caſtle of Croneborg.

What he delivers in the next place, p. 23, "that the Spaniards "may with as much right lay claim to the Streights of Gibraltar [m]; "or the Swede, who is now maſter of one of the coaſts of the "Sound, demand another toll of ſhips," is altogether ridiculous. The ſolemn treaties of Roſchild and Lund contain formal proteſtations againſt any pretenſions to a double toll; and by them the King of Sweden hath been obliged to demoliſh the caſtle and fortifications of Helſingborg: beſides, it would be impoſſible for the Swede effectually to demand it at Helſingborg, ſince that town is ſo ſituated, that no ſhip is able to come within half a league of it. Neither is it eaſy for any one to imagine how he will make out his compariſon between the Sound and the Streights of Gibraltar; ſince the former, being commanded by a ſtrong caſtle, is very narrow, and paſſable only within the reach of cannon-ſhot; whereas the latter is ſo broad, that ſeveral ſhips may paſs in the middle of it, without fear of cannon from either ſide, and not commanded by any caſtles belonging either to the Moors or Spaniards.

He concludes in a great huff, p. 26, "that all other petty "princes and ſtates pay this toll without murmur whilſt we and

[m] Which, it may be needleſs to obſerve, at that time belonged to Spain.

"the

" the Hollanders do it; but the Danes muſt have a care leſt we " grow angry." So it ſeems France and Poland, whoſe ſhips paſs this Sound, are petty princes and ſtates; and the Author may think he has authority enough to make a crowned head ſtand in awe of him: but, to ſhew him the contrary, I ſhall proceed with my former freedom to conſider his next chapter, *though he himſelf ſhould chance to grow angry.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the other Iſlands, and Jutland.

IT would be tedious to the Reader to recount all the contradictions that are to be met with in the deſcription of theſe countries. I ſhall begin with Sealand; where he ſays, " there are " few meadows," and yet " no want of good hay," p. 8; that " the air is but indifferent," and yet " there are no colds," p. 8, 9; that " the cattle are lean," p. 10, " becauſe their feeding, " when in the houſe, is partly hay, and partly brewers grains and " roots," &c. p. 10. So having given an account of the miſerable ſtate of Sealand, he proceeds to ſet forth that of the other iſlands in this manner.

" Funen has plenty of corn, hogs, woods," &c. p. 27; and yet has nothing " for the merchants to export but a few horſes."

As it is certain and notorious, that abundance of corn, bacon, and other commodities, are ſent from thence to Holland, Norway, and other places; ſo it is as certain likewiſe, that theſe things muſt go to Holland or Norway from this iſland by land-carriage, unleſs the Author will give them leave to be exported. What does he think of the apples, which yearly are the ſole lading of ſeveral ſhips?

Their cyder, and their mead (which is the beſt in the world), is likewiſe carried abroad; and more eſpecially a ſort of wheat, called in Daniſh *boghuede*, in Latin *fagopyrus* (of which the Danes make their ſo-much-talked of *grout*, that reſembles the Engliſh haſty-pudding), which is in very great plenty throughout the whole iſland. Now it cannot poſſibly enter into my head, that the people who have corn, bacon, apples, cyder, mead, and *boghuede*,

hude, to be exported, ſhould have "only a few horſes to be ex-"ported."

"The chief town is Odenſee, formerly a flouriſhing little city, "but now fallen to decay," p. 27. It is not ſo flouriſhing now, as when the king reſided there; but it is in a very good condition ſtill. He takes no notice of ſeveral other good towns that are in the iſland, as Nyborg, Aſſens, Middlefart, &c. which are all bigger than St. Albans; I ſuppoſe that he might make his Reader imagine that nothing but villages were to be found in Denmark, except thoſe few towns he mentions.

This iſland is obliged to him for declaring the true name of its *ſtifts-ampt-mænd*, or chief governor, which is Mr. Winterfelt; whereas in Laaland and Jutland he is miſtaken in the names, and has given us none of thoſe in Sealand: whether for want of information, or other more prevailing reaſons, he can beſt inform his Reader.

Laaland has met with better quarter from this Author than other places, and is commended for its plenty of corn; however, he has forgotten the great abundance of extraordinary good peaſe which grow there, and for which it is famous. I hope it is no reflection upon Copenhagen, that it is "ſupplied with wheat "from thence," p. 28; and it may the rather be excuſed, becauſe the Dutch, in the midſt of their plenty and liberty, come hither for it too. So London is at preſent ſupplied from the North, as Rome heretofore from Sicily and Ægypt. He is miſtaken in the governor's name, which is Mr. Gioe; and this ſmall error is the more to be taken notice of, becauſe he ſays he reſided a long time in England in a public character, and ſo probably his name might be the better known there.

Nor is he leſs miſtaken in the name of another perſon, which, if he were any ways inquiſitive, he might have known; for he places Monſieur Edmund Scheel among the *ſtifts-ampt-mænd* of Jutland; this, I ſuppoſe, he does only to let his countrymen ſee that they need not go ſo far as Denmark to find out his errors: for Monſieur Scheel, a perſon conſiderable for his parts, learning, and the characters he has ſuſtained at home and in foreign courts, beſides that of England where he lately reſided as envoy extraordinary, in that very memorial he gave in to the King of England about this Author's "Account," has written his Chriſtian name Magnus, as he doth without any abbreviation upon all occaſions.

After

After having named three *ſtifts-ampts-mænd* in Jutland, an *&c.* comes in for the fourth; which the Author, upon the leaſt inquiry, might have found to be Mr. Mejercrone, now the King of Denmark's envoy at the French court. The four principal governments which he has not mentioned are called Ribe, Aarhus, Wiborg, and Aalborg.

It contradicts itſelf, that "Jutland wants good ſea-ports towards "the ocean," p. 30; and "yet the Hollanders tranſport a great "quantity of cows and oxen from thence;" which makes it unneceſſary to repeat the ſea-towns mentioned elſe-where, beſides which there are ſeveral others by the Weſtern iſlands, Silt, Liſter, and Romme, near the cities of Ribe and Tender, where the Hollanders ſmacks and oxen-ſhips (as they call them) enter without difficulty, and ſo export thoſe commodities, which, though the Writer calls "lean cows and oxen," p. 30, yet they are not ſo in themſelves, but only in regard of that extraordinary bigneſs they grow to when they come into the Dutch ſoil. Otherwiſe the cattle of Jutland, as of moſt part of Denmark, is not of the ſmalleſt, though it be left in its own country; nor need the inhabitants of this plentiful province deſire any fatter beef than what they can have when they pleaſe at home.

Jutland alſo "affords corn, *not only* in ſufficient quantity for "the uſe of its own people," p. 30; but in ſuch a ſuperabundance, that all the want of Norway in this caſe is yearly ſupplied in the greateſt meaſure from this province: neither can this chuſe but be a vaſt quantity, conſidering the many populous ſea-towns lying all along upon the ſhores of that country; nay, in the very year 1692, in which this Author pretends to deſcribe this country, there was ſuch a crop reaped there, that, upon frequent deſires, it was allowed to the Hollanders, by the King of Denmark, to export no leſs than thirty thouſand barrels of corn (each Daniſh barrel containing four buſhels), beſides what privately under this permiſſion was ſtolen out, and beſides the neceſſary proviſions for Norway. Let now the Reader judge, if no more can be ſaid of Jutland's fertility, than that it affords "corn in ſufficient quantity for the uſe of its own people."

But what is the reaſon of this plenty and fertility? does it proceed from the goodneſs of the ſoil, and the induſtry of the inhabitants? or from any natural, moral, or elſe ſome political account?

account? Why indeed the reaſon that they have ſo many oxen to ſell is, "becauſe the King keeps his court far from thence: "*Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine*," ſays our Author, p. 30. Corn grows in any country, where the farmer is careful, and the ſoil agreeable: and where the meadows produce good graſs, there will be good cattle; and this Nature will do, whether it be in monarchies or commonwealths.

I have reſerved the iſland of Amack, or Amager in Daniſh, to conclude with, becauſe it is the Author's darling.

"This iſland," as he ſays, p. 28, 29, "is very plentiful, and "therefore commonly called the kitchen-garden of Copenhagen;" but the inhabitants are *not* all of them North Hollanders. There is but one pariſh and village, which is called "the Hol- "landers village;" the reſt of the people, although they wear a ſingular dreſs, to ſhew their primitive extraction, yet in every thing elſe they are Danes; ſo that "their not mixing with that "nation," p. 29, is a meer fable. But hence ariſes a great conſternation in our Author; it is to be feared that "theſe North "Hollanders by degrees will be treated like the other ſubjects of "Denmark." My heart really bleeds, upon the contemplation of theſe poor North Hollanders; for they ſeem perfectly to have been trepanned, or, as one may ſay, kidnapt into Denmark. I warrant they had letter upon letter, invitation upon invitation, before they could leave their own country; and eſpecially conſidering what they were, perſons of faſhion and credit, gardeners and dairy-maids!

Now it is very hard, that a free people, bred in a commonwealth, as North Holland is, where they lie under no impoſitions, have no exciſes, ſhould be betrayed into a country, where there is a neceſſity of their paying taxes; that *they* ſhould be reduced to *powdered beef* and *ſtubble geeſe*, like *common Danes*; whereas, at home, in the ſeat of liberty, they could have regaled themſelves and families with a *red-herring* one day, *white-herring* another, and *pickled-herring* a third, for greater change and delicacy!

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the reſt of the King of Denmark's Countries.

THE Author, to keep up an old cuſtom, begins this chapter with a contradiction; for in Sleſwick "the commodities for "exportation are in no great quantity;" and yet "it affords "corn, cattle, horſes, and wood, to its neighbours, over and "above a ſufficient ſtore of each for its own inhabitants."

When it is his buſineſs to deſcribe Denmark, he runs out into an elaborate deſcription of the duke of Holſtein's reſidence, and ſets forth "the romantic ſituation of his caſtle," p. 32.

It is eaſy to gueſs at the Author's reaſons for this digreſſion. Gottorp is a very pleaſant and magnificent ſeat; yet in moſt things it is not to be compared with Frederickſburg, belonging to the King of Denmark. The palace at Gottorp may have run to ſome decay, by the late troubles in Holſtein; but thoſe who told the Author "that the improvements were pulled down and "deſtroyed by order," p. 33, were ſo far from being "ſenſible "informers," that they were falſe and malicious. Neither does it ſtand with common ſenſe, that ſo generous a prince as the King of Denmark would give ſo ungenteel an order, or revenge himſelf upon the palace and gardens, for any injury which the maſter of them might have done him. And, after all, the Author "found a library," p. 33, at Gottorp; which was more than he was pleaſed to do at Copenhagen.

The Holſteiners are ſo much this Gentleman's friends, that he ſtrains a point in their favour, p. 36, viz. "The Danes, when "they travel abroad, chuſe to call themſelves Holſteiners, think-"ing it more honourable to be born in the confines of the "empire than otherwiſe." Which, in a rational man's opinion, is more honourable, to be born in a little dutchy (as Holſtein is), and a fief holden of the empire, or to be a native of one of the moſt antient kingdoms in Europe? I cannot tell what they may do in other countries; but, when they travel in England and converſe among us, they never diſſemble their country, nor deſire to be called any otherwiſe than Danes.

It is to be noted (according to this Account, p. 37), "as a "great natural defect, that the King of Denmark has not in all "his

"his dominions one navigable river for veſſels of conſiderable "burden." This can be no great defect in ſuch iſlands as Denmark conſiſts of, where there is no need of great rivers (as the Thames, Humber, &c.), the ſea being on all ſides ſo near at hand. Yet theſe iſlands have ſome rivers proportionable enough to their bigneſs, as that in Sealand, which goes up to a town called Neſted, and has formerly been capable of carrying brave ſhips. As for the continent, Jutland has ſome pretty good rivers; but the defect which it may have in that particular is abundantly recompenſed by Nature, with many friths which the ſea forms, and run far into the country; as that called Limefiord by Aalborg, which paſſes almoſt into the middle of Jutland.

What he ſays, p. 37, concerning the deſign of the Danes, during this war, to eſtabliſh the toll at Gluckſtadt, is rather one of his own ſuppoſitions, than any of their real intentions.

He complains, p. 38, of the "horſes of Oldenburg, as not able "to laſt long, or endure hard labour:" whereas thoſe that have ſkill in horſes account them the ſtrongeſt of any; and they are at preſent generally ſought after, to recruit the cavalry in Flanders.

Come we now to the kingdom of Norway, "of which" (if we may believe this Author, p. 38.) "little can be ſaid:" or rather in truth he ſhould have turned it thus, "of Norway I can ſay but "little." For certainly it is more his ignorance of the country, than any want of curioſities in it: elſe thoſe gentlemen who have written whole volumes concerning the deſcription of it have made a great buſtle about nothing.

The hiſtory of it has been ſet forth by ſeveral eminent authors, as Albertus Crantzius and Snorre Sturleſon (whoſe great hiſtory of the ſucceſſion and actions of the Norway kings, written firſt in Iſlandiſh, and then tranſlated into Daniſh and Swediſh, in a large quarto or folio, is as valuable a piece of hiſtory as any where is to be found). Saxo-Grammaticus, in his Daniſh Chronicle, has a great deal about Norway; as likewiſe Jonas Arngrim, in his "Crymogæa Iſlandica;" and lately one Jonas Ramus, a Clergyman in Norway, has put forth an ingenious tract called "Norwega "Antiqua et Ethnica." Peter Clauſſon (another of the ſame nation and profeſſion) has written a great book of the deſcription of that country in the Daniſh tongue; who is followed by ſeveral others, that have diſcourſed of that either in general, or ſome of

its provinces in particular; and moſt of the Daniſh and Swediſh Hiſtorians fill up half their books with the tranſactions and affairs of Norway. Olaus Wormius, in his "Faſti Danici, Litera-"tura Runica, et Monumenta Danica," has given us as many rarities and antiquities of Norway, as he has done of Denmark. This may ſhew the Reader, that, contrary to what this Author affirms, there is enough to be ſaid of this vaſt kingdom. Now to ſhew you, in that "little he has ſaid of Norway," how much a man may be miſtaken. This Author has an excellent faculty at crowding a great many errors in a ſmall compaſs; as for example, "It is ſubdivided into four *ſtifts-ampts*, p. 38, 39, or prin-"cipal governments, viz. Dronthem, Bergen, Chriſtiania, and "Larwick. The governors are young Guldenlew, Mr. Stock-"fleet, &c." So it ſeems, that Norway has of late loſt a *ſtifts-ampt*, or chief government; for the Norſh themſelves hitherto reckoned that they had five. The names of them are Chriſtiania or Aggerſhus, Chriſtiamſand, Bergen, Trundhiem, and Wardohus. As for Larwick, which this Author would advance to be a *ſtifts-ampt*, it is but a county, belonging ſeparately to his high excellency Count Guldenlew, as Tonſborg is another belonging to Count Wedel. Truly, Sir, had we taken your account, Larwick had been but a ſmall equivalent for Wardohus; and Chriſtianſand, though a principal government, had been quite embezzled. *Little* indeed may come *to be ſaid* of a country, when a Writer will omit ſuch principal parts of it. When he comes to tell us who are governors, he names Guldenlew and Mr. Stockfleet, and paſſes the reſt over with an *&c.* Sir, I ſhould be glad to know from you a little more of this matter, and whether this *&c.* be put here for brevity ſake, and to ſpare your readers trouble, or elſe to palliate your own ignorance? Had you named us *four* governors, we ſhould have been content; and not have been ſo hard as to put you upon aſſigning a *ſtifts-ampt* to the fifth province of Norway, which never came to your knowledge.

"It is a very barren country, &c." p. 36. Norway hath never pretended to be ſo fertile in corn as Denmark. However, it is obſervable, that, where the ground is fit to be tilled, it yields a greater crop than the ſoil of the richeſt countries. If Norway had not ſo many ſea towns, very populous and full of ſtrangers, the corn growing there would be ſufficient, without any importation, to feed

feed its own inhabitants. There are ſome diſtricts up in Norway, as Hedemarken, Todten, Gulbrandſdalen, &c. which, in fertility and good corn, do not yield to any part of Denmark.

It will not be improper here to remark two things, which the Author formerly advanced, in which Norway clearly convinces him to the contrary.

Firſt, p. 11, "There is no other town or city belonging to the "King of Denmark much better than St. Albans:" whereas Norway is full of large ſea towns, ſuch as Bergen, Chriſtiania, Chriſtianſand, Trundhiem, Frederickſtadt, &c.

Secondly, he ſays, p. 34, "That the King of Denmark has not "in all his dominions one navigable river for veſſels." But in Norway are abundance of great rivers and friths, running far into the country, as Sarp near Frederickſtadt, Dramen, Lomen, Aggers-elf near Chriſtiania, Nideren near Trundhiem, &c. One might have expected likewiſe that one who treated of Norway ſhould have ſpoken ſomething of the great freſh lakes which are every where in that country: one of which, called Mios, is a league broad, and near twenty leagues long. And I ſhould the rather have ſuppoſed that he would have mentioned theſe lakes, becauſe he ſeems ſo mightily taken with the places where the countrymen have good ſtore of "freſh fiſh;" for in theſe lakes there is ſuch abundance and variety of fiſh, that the peaſants thereabout have enough, not only to ſalt, dry, and carry down to the ſea-ſide, but likewiſe to eat freſh as often as they have a mind to it.

He acknowledges there are ſilver mines in Norway; but he "queſtions whether they turn to account," p. 39. He needed not to have queſtioned it; for he might have been informed, that they have of late years yielded more than they did formerly, or could reaſonably be expected from them. There is indeed, p. 36, an account of the commodities from thence exported; but he forgets the many furs and ſkins of mart, zobel, beavers, &c. which are ſent from thence yearly: as alſo copper, and ſmall nuts, of which quantities are ſhipt out, and come towards the end of winter to London.

The beginning of the character he gives the Norſh is very well; viz. p. 39, "that they are a hardy, laborious, and honeſt ſort of "people; and that they are eſteemed by others." Yet for all this, alas! they muſt have their ſhare of ſcandal too, and the vice of

ſelf-conceitedneſs is laid to their charge. "Vincit amor patriæ," it ſeems, may be their motto, as well as our Author's; for he ſays, p. 39, "they eſteem themſelves much ſuperior to the Danes, "whom they call upbraidingly Jutes." Were ſuch a thing true, as that the Norſh thought themſelves ſuperior to the Danes, it might be apt to breed ſome diſcord between them. On the contrary, no two ſiſter nations can love one another better. Any one who has been in thoſe Northern countries knows that none is welcomer in Denmark than a Norſhman, or in Norway than a Dane: ſo that it is wonderful to ſee two nations not conquered one by the other, but joined by the marriage of princes, agree ſo very well together. As for the name of Jutes, it was given the Danes as a ſpiteful nick-name by the Swedes in the late wars; but the Norſh no more call them *upbraidingly* Jutes, than the Danes when they travel call themſelves Holſteiners.

"Iſland and Feroe," he ſays, p. 39, "are miſerable iſlands; for "corn will not grow there." Miſery conſiſts not always in want of corn; ſince they may have that from other places. Fiſh and cattle they enjoy in great abundance. We ſee Holland, which is a moſt happy place in this Author's opinion, fetches all three of them from Denmark and Norway. The inhabitants of theſe iſlands are great players at cheſs; and our Author ſays, p. 40, "it would be worth ſome curious man's enquiry, how ſuch a "ſtudious and difficult game ſhould get thus far Northward, and "become ſo generally uſed." So we ſee that, notwithſtanding their miſery, they have leiſure for their ſports, and have parts able to ſurmount that game, which, being difficult, muſt require ſtudy. This curious man need not make very far inquiry about their playing at cheſs. It is eaſily known, from reading any of the Northern antiquities (which the Iſlandiſh Writers abound with, and have them the moſt plain, ſimple, and uncorrupted), that *cheſs* has been the proper game of the three Northern nations. Now the Iſlanders having preſerved the old tongue and manners of the Goths, old Danes, Norſh, and Swedes, it is no wonder they have alſo kept this Gothic game; and their eaſe and plenty, together with the great colds in the winter, inclining them to ſedentary lives, make them follow it, and from thence arrive to its perfection. There is a book printed in Engliſh, tranſlated from the Daniſh, written by a Miniſter, concerning the iſlands of Feroe, which

which gives a very particular deſcription of the wonders of Nature in thoſe Northern regions.

"As to the King's factories in both Guinea and the Indies, "they are eſteemed of little conſideration," p. 40; yet "he has "ſeen ſeveral Eaſt India ſhips return home well laden: but whe- "ther the lading were the lawful product of trade, or acquired by "other means, will in time be worth the enquiry of thoſe king- "doms and ſtates whoſe intereſt it is to preſerve in the Indians "and Perſians a good opinion of the honeſty and fair-dealing of "the Europeans." I ſhall always think that ſuch factories as ſend home ſhips well laden are both of good worth and conſidera- tion; and I am the more confirmed in theſe thoughts, "becauſe," p. 40, "moſt of the men of quality are the adventurers."

The looking into the fairneſs of their traffick and merchandize may be let alone at preſent; for I ſuppoſe no European Prince will concern himſelf with the affairs of Aſia, ſo far as to engage in a war with the King of Denmark for that reaſon. At leaſt, Holland and England will very probably remain quiet, till the world has in ſome meaſure forgotten the proceedings with the Mogul and the King of Bantam[n].

At laſt, the Author comes to ſum up what he has been ſaying concerning the King of Denmark's dominions; and, from what he himſelf has delivered, p. 41, infers, "that they produce but a "moderate plenty of neceſſaries for the inhabitants, but few com- "modities for the merchants." However, from the very worſt repreſentation that can be given it, which is this Author's, I ſhall endeavour, from his own words, to evince the quite contrary.

For "Sealand," p. 7, 8, "has rye in good quantity, no want of "good hay, the graſs ſhort and ſweet; great number of fine lakes "ſufficiently ſtored with fiſh; beech-wood, which is excellent for "the pureneſs of its firing; much game, as ſtags, wild-boars, "roebucks, &c. The face of the land is pleaſant, in many places "abounding with little hills, woods, and lakes, in a very agree- "able diverſity. For ſea-ports, it hath that moſt excellent one "belonging to Copenhagen, &c. one of the beſt in the world, "&c.—Funen," p. 27, "is ſecond to Sealand, whether its bigneſs

[n] The facts here alluded to, ſo little to the honour of this country and of Holland, may be ſeen at large in Ralph's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 316. and Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. x.

" or goodneſs of its ſoil be conſidered: it has plenty of corn, " hogs, lakes, and woods, and ſome few horſes to be exported by " the merchants.—Laaland," p. 28, " is a ſmall but plentiful " iſland, producing all ſorts of corn in abundance, and particularly " wheat, wherewith it ſupplies Copenhagen and all other parts of " Denmark. The Hollanders buy yearly and ſhip off great quan- " tities of corn from thence. Falſtria, Langland, and Mune, are " fertile iſlands; the two firſt export yearly ſome corn. Arroe and " Alſen abouud in anniſeeds, which are much uſed, &c.—Born- " holm, Samſoe," p. 28, " with the other iſlands, nouriſh cattle, " aud afford corn for the uſe of the inhabitants. Amack deſerves " to be particularly remembered: this little iſland is, as it were, " the kitchen-garden of Copenhagen, and ſupplies its markets " plentifully with all ſorts of roots and herbs, beſides butter, " milk, great quantities of corn, and ſome hay.—Jutland," p. 29, " is a plentiful country, abounding more eſpecially in cattle. " The Hollanders tranſport yearly great quantities of corn and " oxen from thence, to their more fertile ſoil; where in a ſhort " time they grow prodigiouſly. The horſes and ſwine of this " country are excellent, and in great numbers: it affords corn in " ſufficient quantity for the uſe of its own people.

" The dutchy of Sleſwick," p. 32, " is in general a very " good country; its convenient ſituation between two ſeas, the " Ocean and the Baltick, rendering it conſiderable for trade: " ſome corn, cattle, horſes, and wood for firing, it affords to its " neighbours, over and above a ſufficient ſtore of each for its own " inhabitants.—Holſtein," p. 35, " is a country very fruitful and " pleaſant, excellently well ſeated for trade, between two ſeas.— " Stormar and Ditmarſh," p. 38, " are for the moſt part low and " rich countries; their ſoil being fat, and in moſt places reſembling " Holland, as well in its fertility as manner of improvement.— " Oldenburg," p. 37, " abounds in cattle, and has a good breed of " horſes, which are much ſought after for coaches.—Delmen- " horſt," p. 30, " is pretty well wooded.

" Norway," p. 39, " has ſilver mines; the commodities which " it yields, fit for exportation, are timber of all kinds eſpecially " fir, ſtockfiſh, maſts for ſhips, and iron; of theſe it has a tolerable " ſtore.—Iſland and Feroe," p. 39, " have good ſtocks of cattle.— " The King of Denmark," p. 37, " hath factories in Guinea, and " the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. Several Eaſt India ſhips return home

" to

" to Copenhagen well laden with the merchandize of thoſe coun-
" tries."

Thus I have given you, from the Author's own words, the qualities of all the King of Denmark's dominions, only abating the malicious inſinuations of the deſcriber; and leave the indifferent Reader to judge, which deſerves to be thought moſt contemptible of, ſuch a Country, or ſuch a Writer!

CHAP. VI.

Of their Form of Government.

WE come now to his darling topick, which is that about government: in the very beginning of which Chapter, he ſhews himſelf very ungrateful, in reflecting upon the Northern countries; " to whoſe ancient inhabitants," he ſays, p. 42, " we " are ſo much indebted, as to owe the original of parliaments."

The conſtitution of a government by a parliament is a ſignal bleſſing; but for the moſt part, thoſe who make the greateſt bluſter with it are men who would leave out the principal part of it, and commit the greateſt errors about it.

The word *Parliament*[o] is very equivocal, and conſequently there muſt be ſeveral differences as to the original of it in divers Countries. It is very probable, that the original of parliaments in general is not ſo much owing to any particular nation, as to nature itſelf. And for the due and firm conſtitution of the government, as I take that to be by King, lords, and commons; I look no further than the body natural, viz. that of man, the moſt divine part of the creation: and there I find the head dignified with exceeding power, command, and honour; there are other members, which, being moſt uſeful to the principal part, are exalted to a particular preference; and a third ſort, inferior and leſs uſeful, which, through their weakneſs, &c. ſeem liable to contempt and neglect, and conſequently to grievances; ſo it is but meet for them to have recourſe to their ſuperiors, to ſet forth their wants, and likewiſe to declare their willingneſs, ſo far as in them lies, to contribute towards the ſupport of the whole; and it

[o] See above, p. 14.

ſeems not unreaſonable that it ſhould be thus in the ſtate, ſince we find St. Paul, to the Corinthians, moſt admirably deſcribing it to be ſo in the church; where, having firſt made Chriſt the head, and ſecondly conſtituted apoſtles, prophets, and teachers; he yet farther, in the third place, makes every particular Chriſtian come in for a ſhare as a member, "That there ſhould be no ſchiſm in "the body; but that the members ſhould have the ſame care one "for another. And whether one member ſuffer, all the members "ſuffer with it: or one member be honoured, all the members "rejoice with it [p]."

To take the word Parliament in this ſenſe, it may agree to ſeveral nations; but elſe (as was before ſaid) it is very equivocal, and differs according to the ſeveral countries it is found in; ſo that, when the Author joins the Parliaments of Poland and Great Britain together, the Reader muſt not imagine that there is any likeneſs or reſemblance between them; for there the King has ſo little power, the cities ſcarce any, and that of the nobility is ſo exorbitant, that the greateſt councils, upon the moſt preſſing neceſſities for their ſafety againſt the Turks and Tartars, end in nothing, if one deputy ſhall think fit to make his proteſtation againſt it: this Parliament being no more like ours than the Venetian Senate. And yet he tells us with great pomp, p. 43, "that Poland alone has preſerved its parliament:" whereas every one muſt acknowledge, it would be a happy country, if it had the opportunity to loſe it [q].

"As for all other countries whatſoever, except that and our "own," he tells us, "they have loſt their parliaments within this "laſt age." This cannot be true; for, though Denmark has loſt its diet, yet Sweden retains it ſtill; and ſuch a one was ſummoned but the laſt year [r]. Spain and Portugal have the ſame ſort of government they have had this ſeveral hundred years. How can he then ſay, "that all kingdoms in this laſt age have loſt their parlia-"ments?" Beſides, as for Bohemia, Hungary, and the reſt of the Emperor's hereditary provinces, although the government is

[p] 1 Cor. xii. 25, 26.

[q] Theſe remarks, if applied to the modern ſtate of that fertile but depopulated kingdom, appear prophetic.

[r] In 1693. The conſtitution of Sweden has lately been very materially changed.

pretty

pretty abſolute on the prince's ſide, yet there is every where a convocation of the ſtates of the country. But I would fain know of him, whether he believes there is ſuch a place as Ratiſbon, and whether he thinks the Germans ſend their deputies thither for nothing. England had indeed been happy, if this Gentleman's opinion had been true, that its parliaments had met with no interruption in this laſt age. But, whatever his thoughts may be, our parliament was properly loſt for ſeveral years together; from before the death of King Charles the Firſt, till the reſtoration of his ſon; for it is impoſſible in nature to have that aſſembly in its true perfection, without a King in his full prerogative and ſplendour.

Denmark has ſome years ſince, upon very important conſiderations, laid aſide the aſſembly of the ſtates, and given their King a greater extent of power, in that particular, than his predeceſſors formerly enjoyed: not but that the King did before enjoy very ſignal prerogatives; and throughout all the Northern Hiſtories, it is eaſy to ſhew, that ſtrict obedience, and an entire ſubmiſſion to their Prince, hath been reigning there from immemorial times; nor hath it ever ſo much as been known what a republick was. There has indeed a controverſy been ſtarted by Hiſtorians, whether in remote ages the kingdom of Denmark has been hereditary or elective. There are weighty reaſons for the inheritance, at leaſt if cuſtom and preſcription be ſuch; ſeeing ſucceſſors of the royal family have come always to the crown: inſomuch that, if we look back as far as Saxo's fabulous times, we ſhall always find the ſon ſucceeding his father; or, if the ſon has been wanting, another of the ſame race has been made King. Upon the death of a Prince, the eſtates conſtantly met together; but it was with their voices to confirm the next heir, and not to elect another, of any other family whatſoever: for there cannot be one inſtance given through all the Daniſh Hiſtory, where the royal family was excluded, and a private man, though endowed with ever ſo many excellent qualities, exalted to the throne. The example of Hiarne, recorded by Saxo, does not argue; for, thoſe times being fabulous, the ſtory cannot be much relied on; and it is likewiſe to be obſerved, that it was even then ſuppoſed, that the prince and heir was killed in Ruſſia. Beſides, it is more improbable, becauſe they ſay he was made King for his poetry; poets being perſons that ſeldom arrive at ſuch riches and preferments. It is not to be denied but that the Danes ſometimes may have renounced their allegiance to

their King, or rebelled againſt him: but thoſe inſtances are extremely few, in compariſon of ſuch as may be found in the Engliſh or other Hiſtories. When theſe facts have been committed, they have been ſo far from being juſtified afterwards, that the Danes have ever looked upon them as their greateſt misfortunes. And nothing can more evidently demonſtrate to an Engliſhman that faith which the Danes naturally bear to their prince, than the hatred they have expreſſed againſt the villainous act of the Regicides, who committed the horrid murther of King Charles the Firſt. The book called "England's Black Tribunal," being tranſlated into their tongue, has, by ſeveral editions, given them ſuch a ſufficient account of it, as to make them univerſally deteſt it. In the alliance between the two crowns, February 13, 1660, it was agreed, in the 5th article, that if any of thoſe Regicides were found either in Denmark or Norway, they ſhould preſently be delivered up to the King of England. Nay, if a Dane would pretend to fix any crime upon the Engliſh, it is this, "You have "killed your King." And as all nations have ſome word or other of reproach, their higheſt paſſion can give an Engliſhman no worſe than that of *Rump*.

But to come yet nigher to our Author: let us conſider what a rebellious ſort of people he would make the Danes; and, in order to this, let us wait upon one of his Daniſh Kings, from the election to the ſcaffold. It ſeems, when a former prince was murthered, "a King was preſently choſen by the people of all "ſorts; even the boors had their voices," p. 43. "They were to "elect ſuch a perſon, as to them appeared perſonable, valiant, affa-"ble, &c. and adorned with all other virtues." A very peculiar method! The boors undoubtedly were made judges of his civility and breeding; and the citizens wives were brought in, to conſider his perſon: as to his inward qualifications, it was impoſſible for the mob to look into them on the ſudden; and if the former were admitted, theſe were thrown into the bargain. "Regard "was generally had to the family of the preceding Kings; and "ſometimes they pleaſed to chuſe the eldeſt ſon, becauſe the "greatneſs of his paternal eſtate might enable him in ſome degree "to ſupport his office." So that, if the father died in debt, the ſon was ſure to be diſinherited; but, if he had kept his eſtate together, then the young man might poſſibly get into the throne, and, having a tolerable fortune of his own, with that, together with ſome

ſome few perquiſites of the crown, he might pay his tradeſmen; and, as this Author ſays of the King, p. 46, "might live, like "one of our modern noblemen, upon the revenues of his own "eſtate."

After the good-fortune of his promotion, if they found themſelves miſtaken in their choice, "and that they had advanced a "cruel, vicious, tyrannical, covetous, or waſteful perſon; they "frequently depoſed him, oftentimes baniſhed, ſometimes de-"ſtroyed him; and this either formally, by making him anſwer "before the repreſentative body of the people; or if, by ill prac-"tices, levying of ſoldiers, or contracting of alliances to ſupport "himſelf in oppoſition to the peoples rights, he was grown too "powerful to be legally contended with, they diſpatched him, "without any more ceremony, the beſt way they could," p. 44, 45. We ſee here that there were five crimes, for which the Kings of Denmark, by this Author's laws, were to ſtand corrected. *Depoſing* being but a ſlight puniſhment, that was made uſe of *frequently*; therefore we will ſuppoſe ten or a dozen gone that way. *Baniſhment* he puts in the next degree, and that he ſays they were *ſentenced to oftentimes*; from whence we may rationally conclude, the baniſhed will amount to very near the forementioned number; "the more incorrigible were ſometimes deſtroyed." There are five or ſix ſent that way, I warrant you; others were either *formally* executed by the ſentence of a high court of juſtice, "or "diſpatched, without any more ceremony, the beſt way," for endeavouring to ſecure themſelves againſt the inſults of their own ſubjects. A very moderate computation! And here how few kings are left to end their days in peace! One would think an election would not be much contended for, where a crown is tendered upon ſuch tickliſh conditions. Yet he tells us, p. 45, "they "always elected a better man in his room; ſometimes the next of "kin, ſometimes the valiant man that had expoſed himſelf ſo far "as to undertake the expulſion or the killing of the tyrant; at "other times a private perſon of good reputation, who poſſibly "leaſt dreamt of ſuch an advancement." I ſuppoſe the next of kin were ſeldom ſo deſperate as to venture; and therefore they oftener threw their voices away upon ſome private perſon, who, according to this Author's deſcription, might poſſibly be ſome honeſt drunken ſleepy fellow, that had a crown dropt into his mouth as he lay yawning. But generally the murtherer was likewiſe

wiſe the thief, and the villain who had diſpatched his prince ſucceeded him; hence there aroſe a well-ordered government, and all men became ambitious of imitating their new King; the meaneſt ſubjects duly weighing the faults of their ſuperiors in their own breaſts (the proper tribunal), the ſervant ſoon ſtabs his *cruel* maſter, the tenant ſhoots his *waſteful* lord, and the ſon poiſons his *covetous* old father, that, having ſo done, they may by the common law and juſtice of the kingdom ſucceed in their reſpective inheritances.

Having done with that government, the loſs of which he ſo much complains of; we enter upon his account of the preſent ſtate; and find him telling us, p. 46, 47, "that, about thirty-two "years ago, at one inſtant, the face of affairs was changed; ſo "that the Kings have ever ſince been abſolute and arbitrary, not "the leaſt remnant of liberty remaining to the ſubject; the firſt "and principal article in the Daniſh law being, that the King has "the privilege reſerved to himſelf to explain the law, nay to alter "and change it as he ſhall find good. The conſequences of this "are, exceſſive taxes in times of peace, little regard being had to "the occaſion of them; poverty in the gentry, miſery in the peaſants, and partiality in the diſtribution of juſtice."

The occaſion of the change of government ſhall be declared in the next paragraph; in the mean time, any one that knows Denmark muſt confeſs, that the King is abſolute, but no farther ſo than a Chriſtian King of our own Proteſtant religion may be; wherefore, amongſt other of the obligations which he lies under, are the Holy Scriptures, and the Confeſſion of Augſburg, as is declared in the beginning of the Daniſh law. As for that law which the Author delivers, it is declaratory of the King's authority; and, ſince it is neceſſary that a legiſlative power ſhould be lodged ſomewhere, ſhews that it is placed in him. Purſuant to this, the preſent King has compiled a book of Laws, the Character of which is given by our Author, p. 232, 233, "That, for juſtice, "brevity, and perſpicuity, they exceed all in the world: that they "are grounded upon equity, and are all contained in one quarto "volume[s], written in the language of the country, which ſo much "plainneſs, that no man who can write and read, is ſo ignorant,

[s] Poſſibly the ground-work of the conciſe Frederician code, ſo celebrated in modern times.

"but

"but he may preſently underſtand his own caſe, and plead it too, "if he pleaſes, without the aſſiſtance of counſel or attorney." Being thus conſtituted, they are ſo agreeable and adapted to the Daniſh nation, that they continue ſtill the ſame, the King having never yet changed nor altered, much leſs explained, any part to the prejudice of any particular perſon whatſoever; the execution of them throughout the whole kingdom is with great equality and more eminently in the high-court of juſtice in Copenhagen, where the King himſelf is preſident, and ſits frequently; where cauſes are often decided in favour of the meaneſt peaſant, againſt the greateſt favourites, who, for wrongs done, have been condemned to vaſt mulcts and penalties, as might be ſhewn by ſeveral inſtances, if it were needful or proper to inſert them.

By this law every man poſſeſſes his own real or perſonal eſtate, without the leaſt encroachment from the King. It is true that the ſubject pays taxes, but they are ſuch only as neceſſity requires; for, Denmark being ſurrounded with many potent neighbours who are all in arms, it muſt, for its own preſervation, ſupport a fleet and army, unleſs it could perſuade them to diſband their forces.

The taxes, being for the common good, are laid equally upon all; and the King's moderation in his expences, both as to himſelf and the royal family, being ſo conſpicuous, the ſubjects have the greater ſatisfaction to ſee what they contribute laid out only for their own preſervation. Notwithſtanding theſe taxes, the people live in plenty, wanting nothing either for convenience or pleaſure.

All this they enjoy, although the government is indeed abſolute; and they with all willingneſs and due obedience ſubmit themſelves to this government, becauſe they are ſufficiently ſatisfied that this abſolute power was not given to his Majeſty of Denmark till the neceſſity for it was unavoidable. The nobility was that part of the Daniſh conſtitution which firſt broke in upon the ſymmetry of the whole: in ſeveral ages, and by inſenſible degrees, they encroached upon the king's prerogative, but all along made larger progreſſes towards the enſlaving of the commonalty; inſomuch that all burthens and public taxes were impoſed upon them alone. After the war with Sweden, the commons found themſelves unable longer to live under ſuch oppreſſions.

oppreſſions. They had bravely defended their country with the hazard of their lives, and would have done ſo with their fortunes if they had had any remaining; but theſe were wholly ſwallowed up by the nobility, who yet would contribute nothing toward the maintaining of a juſt war againſt a foreign enemy and invader. Denmark being upon the brink of ruin; the commons in theſe circumſtances, as the weaker and more oppreſſed part, fly to their head for ſuccour. Neither the King alone, nor the commons alone, nor both King and commons jointly, could control the nobility ſo far, as to make them pay taxes; therefore it was neceſſary that all three ſhould conſent to a new government: ſo the commons propoſed it to the lords, and both lords and commons offer the King to make him abſolute; which offer if he had not accepted of, neither himſelf nor the commons could have ſupported the ſtate. Supplies were of neceſſity to be raiſed; the commonalty could not raiſe them without aſſiſtance; and there was no other way but this, to make the nobility in ſome equal meaſure bear their proportion.

After this alteration in the government, the preſent Author would make us believe that ſtrange miſeries happened; and, as a very aſtoniſhing one, ſays, p. 47, "That the value of eſtates "in moſt parts of the kingdom is fallen three fourths." It is true, the value of eſtates did fall; but nothing near the proportion he ſpeaks of. The true reaſon was, the want of money in the commonalty, which had been exhauſted by the war: for the commons, if they had had wherewithal, would have been glad to buy eſtates; which they were not permitted to do before this alteration.

Then it muſt be conſidered, that before this the price of eſtates was extravagant, and far beyond the intrinſic value, for then none but a nobleman could purchaſe lands; and if, by a mortgage or any other occaſion, lands happened to fall into the hands of other people, they were obliged to proffer them to ſale to the nobility, who ſtill purchaſed in envy and emulation of one another. Trade and commerce being little at that time, the money was chiefly laid out in the buying of eſtates; but, ſince the nobles have not the former eagerneſs for buying up the land as before, and ſhipping is ſo much increaſed of late, every one rather chuſes to employ his money that way, than to purchaſe

lands

lands at ſuch an extravagant rate as formerly. And yet it is to be obſerved, according to the relation of a gentleman lately arrived out of Denmark, the value of land is now raiſed conſiderably; ſo that, in a little time, it will come to be very near equal to what it has been heretofore. For it is to be conſidered that, Denmark and Norway being ſince the alteration become maſters of a very great trade, their money muſt increaſe likewiſe. In other reigns, it was a rarity to ſee ſome few ſhips, from Copenhagen and the moſt conſiderable cities, go to France and Spain. Now Copenhagen alone has above fifty large ſhips, that trade to France, &c.; and other parts have them proportionably, beſides thoſe bound for Spain, the Streights, Guinea, and the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, &c. And in Norway little ſea towns, that formerly had either one, or two, or no ſhips at all, but ſold their timber to the Engliſh and Dutch that came thither (the Dutch eſpecially, being as it were their factors, carrying out their goods, and ſupplying them with all ſorts of French and Spaniſh wares, which the inhabitants never fetched themſelves)—theſe very towns, which are not one or two, but moſt ſea-towns in Norway, being in abundance all along the ſea-coaſts, now ſend yearly, to England, France, and Holland, 10, 20, 30, or 40 large fly-boats and ſhips of other building, as can be teſtified by the merchants who trade to thoſe parts. With this increaſe of trade, the reputation of Denmark, in reſpect of its intereſt with other princes of Europe, is of late years ſo far advanced, as that crown never yet made ſo great a figure in Chriſtendom as it does at preſent; not even in the time of Canutus, when we may ſuppoſe it in its greateſt proſperity.

So that, although an abſolute monarchy, with the additional term of arbitrary power, ſounds harſher in the ears of an Engliſhman than moſt other nations; his preſent Majeſty of Denmark ſhews us that, even in an abſolute monarchy, which in its own nature may be under ſeveral inconveniences in reſpect of the people, and temptations of encroachment as to the prince; yet a wiſe and good King may ſo order his conduct, as to make his ſubjects eaſy, and himſelf glorious.

To conclude; I take this Chapter to be our Author's maſterpiece, particularly his character of an old Daniſh King; it gives us the very image of the deſcriber's own thoughts and inclinations;

nations; and ſhews us what ſort of King a commonwealth's-man may perhaps condeſcend to make, and then how many particular ways and means he can find out to diſpatch him.

CHAP. VII.

The Manner how the Kingdom of Denmark became Hereditary and Abſolute.

"IT is aſtoniſhing to conſider," ſays our Author, p. 48, "how a "free and rich people (for ſo the Danes were formerly) "ſhould be perſuaded entirely to part with their liberties." It is more aſtoniſhing to me, to ſee a man write without conſidering: for in what did "theſe former riches conſiſt?" In a "country "exhauſted by the taxes," p. 50; or in the "want of money to "diſcharge the arrears due to the army," p. 49; or in the "miſeries attending the war, which had in a manner ruined the "people?" In the next place, where was their freedom? when the ſenator Otto Craeg tells the commons, p. 52, they "were no "other than ſlaves;" and theſe very words made them deliberate how to get rid of ſuch an odious name and character? Laſtly, how were they perſuaded "entirely to part with their "liberty," when they gave this power to the King, on expreſs purpoſe to gain it? "For the King, upon the firſt news of the "reſolution of the commons, did often openly promiſe that he "would, in gratitude and recompence, declare them all *free*, as "ſoon as it lay in his power, by the gift they were about to "make him," p. 58. Which promiſe he performed accordingly; and put the commons of Denmark into the ſtate they are at preſent, which is far from ſlavery.

It will be neceſſary here to ſhew how all ſorts of people ſtood in Denmark before the alteration; which will eaſily make the true grounds of it appear, and how it came to be effected with a conſent ſo general, and with ſo little trouble. The King had his power curbed by the nobility to a great meaſure, p. 54; and as the Kings found theſe encroachments, they did endeavour to prevent them: to ſecure their prerogative therefore (in the latter ages) they often made their ſons be elected and ſworn

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(whence they were in Daniſh called *hylded)* during their life-time, and have homage done them both in Denmark and Norway. Frederick the Third, who was King at this conjuncture, had done ſo by Prince Chriſtian the preſent King; he was then admired by his ſubjects for his conduct and valour, p. 54. "They "had ſeen him with an admirable patience and conſtancy bear "all his calamities: he had often expoſed his perſon for the "ſake of his ſubjects; and they therefore thought they could "never do enough to ſhew their gratitude towards him."

The nobility were very numerous and diffuſive: all the lands were in their ſole poſſeſſion; their eſtates reſembled our manors, of which they were lords, and took their titles from thence; and as they increaſed in wealth, and conſequently in lands, they had additional titles from thence; and theſe accrued either by purchaſe (which, as has been ſaid before, none could make but themſelves); or elſe by marriages, which they always contracted among one another; for, when a nobleman died, his pedigree was declared to the eighth generation upwards, both by father's and mother's ſide, to have been noble. To them alone belonged (and does belong) the honour of a coat of arms. Others may make uſe of cyphers and rebuſes for diſtinction: but they do not deliver them down to poſterity; nor have they any farther mark of honour in them. Among theſe nobles there were twenty four perſons of the chiefeſt families, who compoſed a ſtanding council, called *rigens raad*, or the council of the kingdom; upon the death of one of theſe counſellors, his ſucceſſor had a patent from the King to conſtitute him ſo; but he was always approved, if not firſt choſen, by the nobility. This council had by degrees ſo enlarged their authority, as to interpoſe in moſt of the great affairs of the kingdom. The entire body of the nobility, though ſtanding poſſeſſed of the lands, looked upon it, p. 50, as their "ancient prerogative, to pay "nothing by way of taxes."

The reſt of the people of Denmark conſiſted of the clergy, the burghers or citizens, and the peaſants, who were either in the nature of our farmers, or elſe the *vornede*, who reſembled the villeins in our law, who were ſo called *quaſi villæ adſcripti*, and ſo were theſe.

When

When a diet was to meet (which it did not do of courſe, or at certain periods, but upon great occaſions (as doing homage, or to raiſe taxes), the nobility aſſembled together in the palace, and ſat by themſelves, the King ſeldom coming among them; all were ſummoned, and as many appeared as could with their convenience. The clergy and burghers, who were ſent in proportion by their ſeveral diſtricts, ſat in the Brewers-hall; and the peaſants, who had their repreſentatives likewiſe, ſat in ſome other hall belonging to ſome of the companies. When the nobility had deliberated concerning a tax, the clergy, burghers, and peaſants, were ſent for to their houſe, to hear what was to be laid upon them, and not to debate the matter, or to pretend to control them.

This was the condition of the kingdom and the Daniſh parliament, when the war with Sweden was ended: and it was this prerogative of the nobility, that made the other ſtates ſo willing to devolve a power upon the king, by which he could make the nobility pay their proportion, and either clergyman or citizen be able to purchaſe; and ſo the peaſant, who before could be a farmer only, if he could get money, might have licence to become a free-holder: and the ſoldier was no doubt likewiſe deſirous of it, becauſe he had a proſpect then that his arrears ſhould be paid him. There being ſo many advantages likely to accrue to the King, whom they acknowledged by his valour and conduct to deſerve them; to the whole royal family, and indeed to all the reſt of the Danes; and no damage to any, except that which the nobles received in contributing towards the defence of the lands which they poſſeſſed: it is not ſo very ſtrange, that an alteration ſhould be perfected in ſo few days, all things not only being ripe for, but neceſſity itſelf requiring it.

The ſpeech of Otto Craeg made the commons eager to obtain this alteration, eſpecially being headed by their Preſident Nanſon, who was a man of vigour. The ſuperintendant Swan was at the head of the clergy, who were no leſs deſirous of it. Seheſtede was prime miniſter, and concurred to their intention; and ſeveral of the nobles themſelves, who were in court, were not diſpleaſed at it; and the queen, being a woman of ſpirit, thought herſelf bound to her poſterity to advance it. It was night when the commons parted from the nobles; and that gave them time the better to concert their reſolutions. The next day they come again, and

declare their fixt deſign, concerning the power which they intended to place in his Majeſty's hands. The nobility deſired farther time to deliberate concerning it, and to do it with greater caution and ſolemnity. Finding a delay in the nobles, and that they would not come up to equal reſolutions with them, the commons go the ſame morning to the palace; where, being introduced to the King, they tender him an hereditary and ſovereign dominion. His Majeſty in anſwer tells them of the neceſſity there was for the concurrence of the nobility, before he ſhould be willing to accept the power they deſigned him; aſſuring them of his protection, and eaſe of grievances; diſmiſſing them with advice to continue their ſeſſions till matters might be brought to greater perfection. The ſame day Monſieur Scheel, a ſenator, was to be buried with much magnificence, and all the nobility invited to a great entertainment, as is uſual there upon ſuch occaſions: in the mean time the gates of the city were ſhut; and whereas two or three of the nobility had gone out the night before, there was no opportunity left for the reſt to do ſo. Now, being all together upon the forementioned occaſion, they began to deliberate more ſeriouſly upon the affair, and to ſend news to the court of their compliance with the commmons, and their unanimous agreement with them. Three days were thought requiſite for an intermediate ſpace before the conſummation of this ceremony, which was performed before the caſtle; the King and royal family being placed there in chairs of ſtate, and receiving the homage of all the ſenators, nobility, clergy, and commons. So an affair of this conſequence was diſpatched in four days, without any farther trouble than what has been related.

We muſt allow our Author, in his deſcription of theſe proceedings, to uſe ſome of his own ornaments; and particularly that inſtance of his ſubtle genius to dive into the hearts of men, which he gives us, when he ſpeaks, p. 56, about the King's ſeeming reluctancy, "through doubt of the event, or ſenſe of the diſhoneſty, and crime "of the action:" whereas the King was all along willing to receive the proffer of the commons; but declared that he thought "the concurrence of the nobility neceſſary," that the conſent might be univerſal. He is very particular as to the ſums of money that were given, p. 74. "Hannibal Seheſted had two hun-"dred thouſand crowns: Swan the Biſhop had 30,000, and was

" made Archbiſhop: the Preſident Nanſon had 20,000." One might think he ſpoke with the perſon that paid the bills. This is a piece of ſecret hiſtory, which may perhaps be revealed to foreigners: but the Danes know nothing of it; and it ſeems to carry the leſs probability, becauſe Swan has an Archbiſhoprick, and ten thouſand crowns more than Nanſon, who appears all along to have done equal ſervice.

Beſides theſe three perſons, " the Clergy, who always make " ſure bargains, were the only gainers in this point," p. 74. What! are their revenues enlarged? do they pay no taxes? or what have they gained more than the burghers? Why even juſt nothing. There are no taxes raiſed upon the burghers, to which the clergy muſt not pay their quota: and whereas, before the alteration, the clergyman paid, as it were, no taxes, through the connivance of the nobility; now he bears an equal ſhare with any man of any other profeſſion in the kingdom.

" The commons have ſince experienced, that the little finger of " an abſolute prince can be heavier than the loins of many nobles. " All the citizens of Copenhagen have by it obtained the in- " ſignificant privilege of wearing ſwords; ſo that, at this day, not " a cobler or barber ſtirs abroad without a tilter by his ſide, let his " purſe be never ſo empty."

The privilege of wearing ſwords was granted to the citizens before the change, to encourage them to a vigorous defence of Copenhagen; " when the clergy not only adhered to the intereſt " of their country, but the burghers likewiſe valiantly defended it," p. 51. Before that time none might wear them but the nobility, unleſs they were ſoldiers; and among them, a commoner very ſeldom roſe higher than a captain. In the public calamity of their country, all appeared zealous for the defence of it. The works of the town were very indifferent; but they were raiſed in a little time by an incredible induſtry: not only the ſtudents of the univerſity appeared in arms, and the citizens of condition did the ſame; but the meaneſt of the people got ſcythes and ſuch other inſtruments, to perform what was in their power upon an occaſion ſo abſolutely neceſſary. Indeed all ſorts of people ſhewed that they were worthy to wear their ſwords, ſince they knew ſo well how to uſe them. After the alteration, the privileges granted them were far from inſignificant. Several, for the benefit of trade, &c. are fixt by a large charter. Beſides the liberty to purchaſe

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any lands and lordſhips whatſoever, they are to be burthened with no impoſitions but ſuch as the nobles bear; and they have the comfort (which before they had not) to ſee their children admitted to all honours and public offices, to employments civil and military (according as they can deſerve them), equally as well as the ſons of the greateſt noblemen.

Barbers indeed in Copenhagen wear ſwords, as being principal citizens; for they are at the ſame time very ſkilful and able ſurgeons, and much reſpected: but coblers ſtalking about with tilters by their ſides are as rare a ſight there as roaſted *green geeſe*.

When he told me, p. 74, "the people had the glory of forging "their own chains," I took the Danes to be like his ſavage Indians, and that they wore fetters and manacles inſtead of other ornaments; and that all their cold iron was rather employed that way than for tilters: for, by the bye, a *ſword* is the fooliſheſt inſtrument in the world for a prince to put into the hands of ſuch ſubjects as he deſigns to make abſolute ſlaves of.

CHAP. VIII.

The Conditions, Cuſtoms, and Temper of the People.

THIS Author's Book would be very plauſible, if people would oblige themſelves, in the reading of one Chapter, not to remember what may have been ſaid in another. His Eighth Chapter is long enough of itſelf to require the ſame diſpenſation; for the Reader will be at a loſs if he makes uſe of his memory, or if he hopes that the *middle* ſhould be agreeable to the *beginning*, or the *end* not be contradictory to them both. As he has hitherto been partial in repreſenting the nature and change of the Daniſh government, ſo it is no wonder if he be miſtaken in the conſequences he draws from thence: "The "condition, cuſtoms, and temper of the people," he ſays, "are "influenced by the change of government." Whatever alteration they may have undergone, and whatever new faſhions may by chance or humour be brought in, as to cloaths; yet ſtill the cuſtoms of the people are the ſame they were before: and more

eſpecially they continue their free and merry way of living, their hoſpitality, and their liberality; all which the Danes and Norſh have always looked upon as their native qualities. Theſe make "the condition of people of all ranks" to be very far from *deplorable*, p. 75: for they know, that what he calls "habitual "ſlavery" in them is nothing but a due obedience to ſupreme powers, not interrupted by any mutiny or rebellion; his "lazineſs" is in them a contented mind; his "ſetting them beyond hopes "and fears" is their deſiring not to intrench upon the power lodged in their prince, nor creating needleſs jealouſies and miſtruſts leſt he ſhould miſuſe it. For it ſeems, the Danes have "mortified ambition, emulation, and other troubleſome qualities," which freedom begets, and which ill men may indeed admire, but common morality has ſet forth to them as vices. From hence they are ſo far from finding themſelves in "a ſickly conſtitution," that, on the contrary, they have evident and ſenſible proofs that their obedience makes the conſtitution of the Daniſh government ſtrong and vigorous; ſo as to be able to fling off any ill humours that may be bred within, and to repulſe any accident from without. Nay they ſee it not only healthy, but gay and florid, proceeding on from ſtrength to ſtrength, in greater degrees than it has done heretofore, either within their own memories, or the records of their anceſtors.

And indeed the government is ſo much the ſtronger, becauſe the nobility now aſſiſt to the ſupport of it. It is eaſily imagined, that the nobles were in ſome greater power before the alteration; and that they were richer when they contributed nothing toward the public neceſſities of their country than they are now. However, they are not "diminiſhed, or grown ſo low," p. 75, as this Author would inſinuate; that proportion which they pay to the public taxes for the defence of their country being only deducted, they are in the ſame condition which they were before, and live very great and nobly on their ſeats in the country; ſome of which, though ancient, are very decent, others built after the modern architecture; and, delighting much in gardens, they have them in very good perfection. This is the utmoſt difference, that whereas formerly only the ancient families called *adelen*, or the nobility, lived ſo (becauſe then no others could purchaſe lands); now any one of the burgher-ſtate, that can afford

afford it, may keep his country-ſeat, as well as the nobility. What the nobles pay in taxes is ſufficiently re-paid to ſeveral of them by the profitable employments which they have in civil affairs; and as they help towards the maintaining of an army, ſo they reap the benefit by being general officers in it.

Theſe employments our Author complains of, as "grievous" to the nobility, p. 78; whereas it ſeems much better than living at home uſeleſsly, and it is no more than what they do in all other courts of Europe. Nor are the "civil employments" ſo *few*, or of ſo *ſmall value*, as he would make them, ibid. For, though the long robe has not places of ſuch vaſt profit as elſewhere; yet, every government having its governor and ſeveral officers ſubordinate, there muſt be abundance of employments, whoſe names cannot be ſo properly expreſſed in the Engliſh.

Our Author has given us a very odd account of the nobility; and begins with affirming, that "ancient riches and valour were "the only titles to nobility formerly in this country:" whereas not he that was rich and valiant became conſequently a nobleman; but the nobility, having got all the lands to themſelves, might eaſily engroſs the reputation of being brave and valiant. "None," it ſeems, "then took their degree or patents "of honour from the King." Firſt, if this were true, it could not be for the good of any nation, where, for an encouragement to glorious actions, there ought to be ſome fountain of honour, and the King certainly is the moſt proper one; but, in the ſecond place, it is evident that, as well before as after the alteration, the King of Denmark made noblemen, and gave patents of honour to them that deſerved well, as can be proved by ſeveral inſtances, in the reign of Chriſtian IV and Frederick III (before he was made abſolute), as alſo in the reigns of their predeceſſors. "Of "late years," he ſays, p. 79, "ſome few titles of Baron and Count, "and nothing higher, have been given to favourites, who enjoy "not the ſame privileges by thoſe titles which our Lords in Eng"land do, but content themſelves with a few airy inſignificant "ones." There is no neceſſity that the nobility of another country ſhould in every thing correſpond with that of England. Suppoſe the Counts and Barons in Denmark not to be juſt the ſame, are therefore their titles airy and inſignificant? On the quite contrary, there is no country in Europe where Counts and Barons have ſuch a pre-eminence as in Denmark. When the King there

gives "ſhield and helm" (as they call it), that is, a nobleman's coat of arms, with a patent of nobility to him; then ſuch a man is diſtinguiſhed from the common people (and ſuch as theſe only were made before the alteration, except ſome few Counts created by foreign Monarchs and Princes). But, when the King will promote a perſon to a degree higher, which he never does unleſs he has ſo great an eſtate as is requiſite to ſuſtain his honour and character, then he gives the titles of Baron or Count (for Dukes there are none in Denmark, that title of old time properly belonging to the royal family). This honour is far greater, and has ſeveral privileges above the reſt of the nobility, as may be ſeen in the Daniſh law. And yet it may more eaſily be imagined that that honour muſt be ſo much the greater, by reaſon of the rarity of ſuch titles, there not being twenty in the whole kingdom.

The following paragraph, that "it is only this kind of nobility "with titles that have liberty to make a will, and thereby to diſ-"poſe of any eſtate otherwiſe than as the law has determined, un-"leſs ſuch will, in the life of the teſtator, be approved of and "ſigned by the King," has more than one miſtake in it; for not only this kind, but all the nobility, have titles from the lands they poſſeſs and are lords of: theſe indeed have the higheſt titles of Count and Baron; and then not only they, but all the nobility, nay any one among the clergy and citizens, can make a will; only it is to be obſerved, that it is required to every ſuch teſtament, from whomſoever it comes, that it be approved and ſigned by the King, to render it of force and valid, ſo as that the eſtate may go otherwiſe than the law hath determined. Neither is it true, p. 81, "that the King aſſumes to himſelf the power of diſ-"poſing all heirs and heireſſes of any conſideration." Sometimes the King may interpoſe his mediation for the marriage of ſome of the chief nobility: but it is far from being his uſual cuſtom; much leſs does he aſſume any power to conſtrain them, or cauſe them who do not hearken to his recommendations "to lie under the pain of his diſpleaſure, which is too weighty "to be borne," p. 81.

The nobility being forced to endure the forementioned hardſhips; "it is poſſible," p. 81, "moſt of the preſent poſſeſſors would "quit the country the firſt opportunity, if there were not ſuch a "ſevere law againſt alienation, that, if any one would tranſport

"himſelf,

"himſelf, the third part of his purchaſe-money ſhall accrue to "the King." This law is not more hard than it is neceſſary; for, there being "no buying and ſelling of land in Denmark," p. 80, the King's third part of purchaſe-money will amount to but little; and where "eſtates are a charge," and the proprietors can ſcarce obtain the favour of the King to be "ſo gracious as "to take their eſtates from them," p. 77, one would fancy that all landed men would lay the key under the door, and be ſcampering. Now, to mend their condition, and to get free from monarchy and taxes; I would adviſe them to haſten to a neighbouring commonwealth, the ſeat of liberty, where the chief miniſter of their ſtate has not above five hundred pounds ſalary, and where their exciſe and taxes laid on their eſtates amount often to above their yearly income. After all, the law, as it is reaſonable to prevent the ſubject from following his own humour to the prejudice of his native country, ſo it does require but a ſixth part to the King, and a tenth part to the magiſtrate of the place; both which, according to my arithmetick, will not amount to a third part, as is reported by our Author with his geometrical exactneſs.

Land being worth nothing, how muſt the Counts and Barons do to live? Why, "they are obliged by all manner of ways to "keep in with the court; as indeed all are, who have a mind to "live, and eat bread," p. 79. What then will become of the reſt of the *adelen*, or native gentry? Why, "military employments "are mightily coveted by them," p. 81; "almoſt as much as the "civil, and for the ſame reaſon that the prieſt's office was "among the Jews, viz. that they may eat a piece of bread." Bread! bread! is the univerſal cry; and our Author ſeems to have borrowed his images, not from the Jews, but rather from the Ægyptians, calling upon Pharoah towards the latter end of the ſeven years of famine.

Want of bread is not the only misfortune; it comes attended with other miſeries: for he ſays, that "the King of "Denmark," p. 81, "imitates the French practice in this par-"ticular, to make the gentry poor, and render traffick unpro-"fitable and diſhonourable. Men of birth muſt live; and one "half of the nation, by giving themſelves up to ſlavery, will "contribute their aſſiſtance afterwards to put chains upon the

"other. Yet in Denmark natives are conſidered leſs than "ſtrangers; and all ſorts of places civil and military are filled "more by foreigners than gentlemen of the country, &c." Were all theſe things true, they would be very great evidences of a corrupt government: but I ſhall beg leave to ſet the Reader right as to theſe particulars, and the condition of the people. The plenty of the whole country has been ſufficiently deſcribed; and in the midſt of this, the chief nobility enjoy the governments of the ſeveral provinces, and the chief offices of the kingdom; the reſt of the *adeken*, or nobility, have ſubordinate governments and offices, ſome at court, and others in the countries where they have their ſeats of reſidence: ſome Germans are in the court; but the native ſubjects are in greater number, as the Counts Guldenlew, Rantzow, Reventlaw, Ahlefelt, Friis; Baron Juel; Meſſieurs Hogh, Moth, Harboe, Scholler, Luxdorf, and a great many more, too numerous to be here inſerted: and natives likewiſe are in all the governments throughout the provinces. "Men of birth" breed up their ſons to ſeveral employments; ſome to civil affairs, ſome to ſtudies, and ſome to trade and traffick, which is as profitable and honourable there as merchants can deſire: it has all encouragement from the King, and many of the higheſt rank intereſt themſelves in it continually. Some gentlemen apply themſelves to arms, and endeavour that way to be ſerviceable to their country; there are abundance of theſe in commiſſion. Foreigners there are indeed in ſome number; but it muſt be conſidered, that they came thither in the late war, and took pay in Denmark, either of their own account, or hired out by their princes. Theſe are by birth Germans, French, Scots, Poles, Pruſſians, &c. Yet theſe very men are naturalized, married, and ſettled in Denmark; and ſo are now to be accounted Danes. The inhabitants do not "pay the ſoldiers;" nor are "conſtantly plagued with inſolent inmates, who lord it where "they dwell," p. 87. For the Dane, lying under a neceſſity from his neighbourhood to maintain an army at home, does it after the manner that may be moſt eaſy to the people, which is this: Soldiers are ſcattered univerſally all round about the countries. The officers there often take houſes, and live with their families, their companies quartering round about them. The ſoldiers are quartered upon the inhabitants, who are to find them bed, ſalt, and

and *four*, or vinegar. If the landlord find his ſoldiers diſagreeable, he may hire them a lodging elſewhere for a ſmall matter: but the ſoldier is generally deſirous to oblige his landlord; which he does by ſeveral offices and labours that he performs for him, and is rewarded with his diet, which otherwiſe he muſt find for himſelf; ſo that by that means he may have the King's pay clear for his pocket. And hence it proceeds, that a ſoldier comes to be as deſirous in a family as a ſervant; their arrears are ſmall, the pay being as conſtant, and the diſcipline as exact and ſevere, as any where can be, both for officers and ſoldiers. Strangers find themſelves ſo well entertained in Denmark and Norway, that it is no wonder they flock thither: great civility, courteſies, and hoſpitality, are ſhewn towards them; which if our Author will have to be a fault, is certainly one upon the beſt-natured ſide. A man would hardly have thought to have found any people in Denmark (according to our Author's deſcription) that could get out of it; much leſs to have found ſtrangers there; and that perſons, "honoured by being born within the confines "of the Empire," or "Poles who have parliaments," would venture thither. But I ſee at laſt that there is in Denmark ſomething worth getting, and leaving one's own country to become maſter of.

Come we now to an unexpected paragraph, and which is beyond all credibility. By what has been ſaid before, one would have thought the Danes went on foot at leaſt, if they did not go bare-foot; when, on a ſudden, p. 83, he acquaints us with their "expenſiveneſs in retinue, cloaths, &c." and of "a pro-"digality, not only in the gentry, whoſe condition is more eaſy, "but likewiſe in the burgher and peaſant." It is not denied but that the Danes have always been, and are now inclined to a handſome way of living, and to the free enjoyment of what they are lawfully poſſeſſed of. It is the generouſneſs, p. 83, of their temper and nature, which makes them do it; and not our Author's reaſons, viz. "the difficulty of procuring a comfortable ſub-"ſiſtence, and the little ſecurity of enjoying what ſhall be ac-"quired through induſtry; the ſenſe that they live but from "hand to mouth making them live to-day, as the poet adviſes, "not knowing but what they now have, may be taken from "them to-morrow." They all *know* the quite contrary; and whatever

whatever the poet may ſay, they are certain the law ſays, that what they have *to-day*, ſhall not be taken from them *to-morrow*. As for their ſpending prodigally becauſe they come by it difficultly; Sancho may teach him that it is rather, "Lightly come, "lightly go;" and I look upon this proverb to be as true as his aſſertion. Being in a merry humour, and in with his poets, he gives us a bit of Latin,

"Torva leæna lupum ſequitur, lupus ipſe capellam,
"Florentem cytiſum ſequitur laſciva capella[t]."

The admirable application, and the uſe he makes of his learning (according to his modern education) as he gives it us, is this, p. 84. "That the gentleman ſpends preſently on himſelf "and pleaſures all that he can get, for fear his money be taken "from him by taxes, before he has eaten or drunk for it: the "peaſant, as ſoon as he gets a rixdollar, lays it out in brandy, "leſt his landlord ſhould hear of it, and take it from him." Thus,

"Torva leæna," &c.

—Little could Virgil imagine, when he wrote thoſe verſes, that future ages would make "florentem cytiſum" be by interpretation a brandy-bottle. Pray, Sir, to be ſerious, do they in Denmark firſt ſearch for what a man has by him, and then lay on the taxes? or rather, as in other countries, proportion them to his way of living, his eſtate and employments? What man in England would ſet up his coach, to avoid the poll tax, by which he is to pay five pounds more for keeping it?

Come we now to the merchant and burgher. Theſe, he ſays, p. 84, "ſubſiſt purely upon credit, there being very few that "can be called rich, or worth a hundred thouſand rixdollars." Leſs than a hundred thouſand rixdollars by far will give a man the denomination of rich in Denmark or Norway; an eſtate of 10, 30, or 50 thouſand will be called riches there; for we muſt conſider, that a rixdollar will go every way farther there than a pound ſterling in England. Nay the Author himſelf, p. 103, when he is to ſhew the grievouſneſs of the taxes, affirms, that "a rixdollar, conſidering the ſcarcity of money, ought "to be computed to go farther than three crowns with us." And at this rate there are not ſo few wealthy men as he would

[t] Virgil, Æn. i. 78.

perſuade

perſuade us. That trade ſhould be managed by credit, is no wonder: it is punctual payment which maintains it; and their credit would ſoon be loſt, if they had not wherewithal to pay their creditors.

"Manufactures have been endeavoured to be introduced, not "ſo much with a deſign of benefiting the publick," p. 85, "as "private courtiers and great men, who were the undertakers; "but in a little time all came to nothing. For it is a ſure rule, "Trade will not be forced, where property is not ſecured." It is apparent from hence, that trade is not "diſcouraged" in Denmark, p. 81; ſince, by his confeſſion, "courtiers and great men become "undertakers." It is certain likewiſe that in Denmark ſeveral manufactures have ſucceeded very well; others indeed have not had the ſame ſucceſs, not becauſe property is not ſecured, but becauſe they can have the ſame commodities cheaper from Holland, Spain, or England. The making of *ſilks* and *drinking-glaſſes* (though theſe latter are made in great perfection in Copenhagen) "did not turn to account, becauſe there is no property in Den-"mark!" Should you, Sir, take Sir Robert Vyner's[u] houſe in Lombard-ſtreet, and ſet up a manufacture for the making tacks at three-pence a thouſand, and employ about five hundred ſmiths to furniſh London with them; and this project ſhould not turn to one *per cent.*; muſt I attribute this misfortune to the unſecureneſs of the Engliſh property; or rather to the diſcretion of the ironmongers, who can have them about eleven pence in the ſhilling cheaper if they will but ſend to Birmingham? Who thinks his eſtate to have the worſe title, becauſe he ſees people daily fling their money away in ſtock-jobbing?

There being an impoſſibility of having manufactures introduced into Denmark, p. 84; "trading towns and villages are all fallen "to decay. Kioge, once a flouriſhing little ſea-port town; lent "Chriſtian IV two hundred thouſand rixdollars; but, upon oc-"caſion of the late poll-tax, the collectors were forced to tax "feather-beds, braſs, pewter, &c. in lieu of money." That trading towns ſhall fall to decay, when trade increaſes, will ſcarce gain belief. As for Kioge; that town lying within four leagues of Copenhagen, it is no wonder if the trade is in ſome meaſure de-

[u] A principal goldſmith of thoſe days. He was lord mayor in 1675.

creaſed,

creaſed, ſince the flouriſhing of that city. We have this Author's word for it, that Kiorge raiſed ſo much money "in four and "twenty hours time." Two hundred thouſand rixdollars (and thoſe, as was ſaid before, equivalent to Engliſh pounds) is a good round ſum for a little town to lend in a day's time; they lent ſo much then, that it is no great wonder they have no great plenty now. However, it was no ſuch great ſight in England (even in King Charles's time) to ſee a ſturdy fray between a collector of chimney-money and an old woman, in behalf of her porridge pot and battered pewter diſh, the only ornament of her cupboard. And yet, I ſuppoſe, the Author does not take us to have been undone then; though ſuch an inſtance (which he has *only by hear-ſay*, p. 85.) is enough to prove all the Danes to be ruined.

"If this be the caſe of the gentleman and burgher, what can "be expected to be that of the poor peaſant?" p. 86. What indeed! "In Sealand they are all as abſolute ſlaves as the Negroes "are in Barbadoes; but with this difference, that their fare is not "ſo good." For indeed every body knows that there is great care taken by the planter, throughout all the Weſt-Indies, to provide dainties for their Negroes, which conſiſt of—pork very ſeldom—and potatoes always. The Author is to be excuſed for his miſtakes in this paragraph, becauſe they cannot ſo eaſily be rectified without the Daniſh law, which I ſuppoſe he never conſulted. It muſt be known that, from immemorial time, in Sealand, there has been a law about *vornede*, as they are called in Denmark, that is, vaſſals; the ſum whereof is, that a boor born upon a landlord's land is obliged to ſtay there, and not to leave his ſervice, except he is freed by his landlord. But firſt, what he ſays, "that neither they nor their poſterity to all generations can "leave the land to which they belong," p. 86, is far from being true: for the landlord may make them free when he pleaſes, which is often practiſed; or they may obtain their freedom for a ſmall ſum of money, which is done commonly; or, if it happens that a vaſſal comes away, and ſtays ten years in a city, or twenty in the country any where, without his landlord's ground, he is free from his claim. Secondly, that "gentlemen count their "riches by their ſtocks of boors, as here with us by our ſtocks of "cattle," p. 86, is of the ſame ſtamp. As we ſay, ſuch a gentle-

man has ſo many tenants, by which we mean ſo many farms; ſo throughout all Denmark they ſay, he has ſo many boors; not that he has ſo many *head*[w] *of boors*, as we would ſay of cattle. Thirdly, "that, in caſe of purchaſe, they are ſold as belonging "to the freehold, juſt as timber-trees."—In England, when a manor is ſold, all the ſervices due to the manor are ſold with it; and it is no otherwiſe in Denmark. Further the landlord cannot go; for the law ſays, the landlord may make his vaſſal free, but he muſt by no means ſell him to another; if the vaſſal be ſold, then he is free both from him that ſold and bought him. Neither, fourthly, do "the boors, with all that belongs to them, appertain "to the proprietor of the land:" for ſuch a vaſſal owes nothing more to his landlord, than that he ſhall ſtay on his land, till his ground, and pay him his rent; which when it is done, reaſonably the landlord can require nothing more of him; ſo that this law of vaſſals in Sealand was principally introduced, that the landlords might not want tenants. Theſe vaſſals may be tranſplanted from one farm to another. The *vornede* are only in Sealand; and the King would have given them freedom there, ſince the alteration, but that he was ſhewn there would have been ſeveral inconveniences attending it. As to the condition of the country people throughout the reſt of Denmark and Norway, it is juſt like that of the farmers in England, paying their rent and due to the landlord, or leaving his farm when they cannot agree together. They do indeed "quarter ſoldiers;" but it is in the manner before deſcribed. And they are "bound to furniſh horſes and waggons "for the King's baggage and retinue when he travels." Theſe are provided by an officer in the nature of our conſtable; who takes care that there ſhall be an equal ſhare for every peaſant throughout Sealand and other provinces where the King of Den-

[w] This would be nearer the truth, if ſpoken of modern Ruſſia. A nobleman of that great empire was mentioning one day in converſation, that he could have no idea of the grandeur of an Engliſh peer, if he had no ſlaves. "I," ſaid he, with great enjoyment, "have two thouſand "ſlaves, whom I can ſcourge when I pleaſe."—When ſuch an one wants to raiſe money, he ſells a certain number of them to the government for ſoldiers or ſailors, at as good a price as he can get; and ſometimes bruſhes up the old ones to mix with the younger, in order to put them off like light coin.

mark

mark travels; ſo that it does not come to the ſame boors turn above once a year; for not only they that live near the road, but thoſe likewiſe who lie farther off, muſt attend in their order. This ſeemed to our Author to be "the greateſt hardſhip impoſed "on theſe poor peaſants. He has ſeen them ſo beaten and abuſed "by lacqueys, that it has often moved his pity and indignation "to ſee it," p. 90. Tender-hearted Gentleman! there was no provocation on the boors' ſide, I warrant you! they are generally better bred than to give ill language! If you were ſo touched with this, how would your pity, Sir, have been moved, had you ſeen a Dane's head broke in a violent paſſion, becauſe he could not let a draw-bridge down ſoon enough; or had you ſeen one of the King's huntſmen cut over the pate by a footman? Men may talk of Barbadoes and Negroes; but the Danes are never uſed ſo much like ſlaves as when they meet with ſome ſort of Envoys.

According to the account hitherto of people in all ſtations, one would imagine the beggars to be innumerable; but it ſeems you will ſcarce ſee a beggar in the ſtreets of Copenhagen, except before ſome burgher's door, who that day gives alms to the poor of his pariſh: for all the poor people of a pariſh go about, one day to one, another to another citizen, who knows his day when he is to give them meat or money both for dinner and ſupper. If any other beggar is ſeen in the ſtreet, an officer carries him immediately to priſon or puniſhment.

After what has been ſaid concerning the ſtate of all ſorts of perſons, even to the meaneſt, who do not appear to want a comfortable ſubſiſtence; what man will not preſently agree with the Author, when he ſays, "Denmark at preſent is but com-"petently peopled," p. 88; "vexation of ſpirit, ill diet, and "poverty, being great obſtructions to procreation; and the pea-"ſants, who before uſed to have a large piece of plate or two, "gold rings, ſilver ſpoons, &c. not having them now, or indeed "any other utenſil of value, unleſs it be feather-beds, whereof "there are better and in greater plenty than in any place he ever "ſaw." I ſhould have imagined *feather-beds* to have been as prolific a piece of furniture as *gold rings* and *ſilver porringers*.

However, the people have continued much about the ſame number for theſe two or three hundred years. As to the multitudes that have been there heretofore, this may be obſerved, that, ſince from

from all the three Northern kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the adjacent provinces near the Elbe and Weſer, ſo many ſwarms went out ſo often to conquer and inhabit other more fertile and Southern countries, it is probable at laſt ſo great deductions might exhauſt the number; as Saxo-Grammaticus, in his Eighth Book, in the Life of King Snio, ſays, "that, when "the Lombards went out of Denmark, in the great famine and "dearth that reigned then, the kingdom was ſo deſerted, that "great woods and foreſts grew up in many places where before "had been fertile ground; and to this day, the ſigns of the "plough are to be ſeen among the trees." Another great reaſon is attributed to the plague, called the *black death*, that ravaged all the Northern kingdoms in the year 1348; when ſo many died, that ſcarce the tenth man was left to till the ground.

Our Author gives another reaſon why they are not ſo numerous as formerly; for "diſcontent kills them;" and it is uſual to have them die of a *ſlatch*, which is "an apoplexy proceeding from "trouble of mind." The falling-ſickneſs is more common in the Northern kingdoms than with us; but not to that degree that our Author talks of, p. 90. And their apoplexies are not half ſo fatal as they have been in England within theſe few years. It is ſcarce reconcileable, that people ſhould die in ſuch number for *diſcontent*, whom, in the beginning of the Chapter, he deſcribes, p. 75, as taken up with a dull pleaſure of being *careleſs* and *inſenſible*.

Let us proceed to the deſcription of their diet, in which the Reader may expect exactneſs; ſeeing our Author all along ſeems to have been a good trencher-man. "Their tables are uſually "well furniſhed with diſhes; yet he cannot commend their "chear," p. 92. Other Engliſhmen have mightily commended their chear, and never complained of "the leanneſs of their "meat." The truth is, the Danes like it the better for not being very fat; the greateſt fault which they and other ſtrangers find with the Engliſh meat is, that it is too fat, which diſagrees with moſt of them. This may be one reaſon, and perhaps a better than that of "property not being ſecure," why they have not been over diligent to introduce "the fattening of tame fowl;" it being "an art not known to above two or three in Copenhagen." And yet fat capons were in Denmark and Norway long before any Engliſhman brought in the *cramming* manufacture, p. 92.

Beef

Beef and *veal*," p. 42, he allows them. "Wether mutton is "ſcarce, and ſeldom good;" not ſo ſcarce or bad, though not in ſuch plenty or ſo fat as in England. *Wild ducks* taſte as well as in England. *Plovers* they have, but do not care for: *ſnipes* and other ſea-fowl in abundance through all Denmark. According to him here are "no wild pheaſants, woodcocks, rabbits, or "fallow deer; red being the King's game, not to be bought for "money." What game is permitted by law to be ſold in our Engliſh markets? *Wild pheaſants* are not there as yet; but, the Prince Royal having a nurſery of tame ones near Copenhagen, and they increaſing prodigiouſly, it is thought they will ſoon grow wild and common. Their woodcocks, called *agerhons*, are moſt delicious in Denmark. They have all ſorts of veniſon in plenty and perfection; nor is it kept ſo ſtrictly for the King's own uſe, but that it is very often to be had among any people of faſhion: for the King's huntſmen have great privileges in this caſe; and moſt of the nobility and gentry, having their game in the country, can communicate enough of all ſorts to their friends. Rabbits the Danes have; but they do not care for them, they not being ſo good as in England. But hares are plenty, and the Author ſays *good*, p. 92; as likewiſe "their bacon excellent." As to their fiſh, I have ſpoken before. "Their butter is very "good; and they have melons, grapes, peaches, and all ſorts of "ſallads, in great perfection. However, in general, their way of "cookery would hardly be pleaſing to an Engliſhman," p. 92, 93. The Danes generally roaſt and boil their meat more than the Engliſh. If you call theirs over-roaſted, they would ſay yours was raw; but this might eaſily be adjuſted. Their broths and ſoups are extraordinary; I fancy, together with them, a man might contrive a good dinner, and a deſert out of what has been mentioned.

To conſummate the entertainment. "Their liquors are "Rheniſh wine, cherry-brandy, and all ſorts of French wine," p. 93. "The fair ſex do not refuſe them;" in ſuch a quantity as is agreeable to their health, and becoming their ſex and modeſty. "The men are fond of them," p. 93; more addicted to drinking perhaps than is neceſſary: but, for theſe twenty years laſt paſt, that humour has declined, and does in ſome meaſure continue to do ſo daily.

There

There are ſome few other cuſtoms of the Daniſh nation, which he repreſents after his faſhion, and ſo concludes.

" Their marriages are uſually preceded by contracts," p. 94; and there is ſome interval between that and the wedding, according to the conditions of the perſons. What he ſays concerning " three, four, or more years, before they proceed to a public " wedding by the miniſter," p. 94, is to introduce his following ſcandal upon the young people: " that often the young couple " grow better acquainted before ſuch formalites are diſpatched." There are no ſuch long intervals, or very ſeldom at leaſt. Beſides, there is ſuch a ſtrictneſs in Denmark about marrying, that no miniſter dare marry any that is not of his own pariſh, which prevents ſeveral inconveniences: and there can be no greater ſhame than it is in Denmark for a new-married woman to be brought to bed before her time.

If we will believe him, " the gentry give portions with their " daughters," p. 94. I muſt confeſs, I had rather believe the Danes themſelves; who aſſure me, that nobody in Denmark gives any portion in money with his daughters, except the wedding-dinner, cloaths, and houſehold-ſtuff. But, in requital for this, the daughters have a ſhare of the eſtate when their parents die: for it is to be remarked, that every brother hath an equal ſhare of the patrimony, the youngeſt as well as the eldeſt; and each ſiſter has half as much as any brother. When a parent would diſpoſe of his eſtate otherwiſe by will, it muſt (as has been ſaid before) be ſigned by the King in his life-time; which, in truth, is no other, than that he muſt have a new law to diſinherit any of his children.

" Sumptuous burials and monuments," he ſays, " are much " in requeſt with the nobility," p. 94. The King has ſome years ſince, by a particular law, retrenched much of the former luxury and magnificence of the great peoples burials; ſo that they now are moderate, and yet very proper and decent. The common people are " mean-ſpirited," p. 94; yet, in the foregoing page, they were " proud and vain;" which two ſorts of qualities ſeldom meet together. If they have any fault, it is a quite contrary one; which is that of being too much inclined to fight upon the leaſt word, and too ſlight provocations: beſides, they muſt always be acknowledged to be deſirous rather to confer than receive obligations, which " a mean ſpirit" never does. The Swedes, who are

as brave a nation as any in the world, have ſufficiently tried their courage; and in all their engagements that they have had in the preſent King and Queen of England's ſervice, they have behaved themſelves like men. The defence which the common people made for their country, and Amack in particular, deſerves not only to be encouraged with privileges, but to have ſo excellent a Poem as that of "Amagria vindicata," written by Borrichius, to continue the memory of their valour down to poſterity.

What tradeſmen he may have met with, it is impoſſible to know, or what notion he may have of being cheated. But whereas he ſays, p. 95, the common people are "inclined to groſs "cheating;" they have the general reputation with other men of being fair dealers. Firſt, "An old ſuperſtitious woman would "not ſell him any green geeſe." This ſilly ſtory (as he relates it, p. 95, 96.) "gives him a more lively idea of the temper of the "common people, than any deſcription he could make;" and in mine it raiſes a much brighter image of the Author: eſpecially when he proceeds to tell me, "that, in their markets, they will "aſk the ſame price for ſtinking meat as for freſh, for lean as "for fat, if it be of a kind," p. 97. We will ſuppoſe the butchers ſo mad as to do ſo. But how came he to know this curioſity? did he cheapen lean meat and ſtinking meat? Some frugal people go towards the latter end of a market, to buy the refuſe cheap: perhaps our Author did ſo too, and makes his complaint in print, becauſe he was diſappointed of a penny-worth.

Where he lays it down, "as a ſure way not to obtain, to ſeem "to value, and to aſk importunately," p. 90; it is that way which I would adviſe no man to follow: for certainly the Danes are not ſuch fools as to keep their wares, when they find the buyer ſo forward as to overvalue them.

"No lodgings in Copenhagen for ſtrangers. In taverns one "muſt be content to eat and drink in a public room," p. 97. It is ſo in all Germany; but in Copenhagen perſons may have tables or rooms to themſelves when beſpoken; and no ſtranger need or does want convenient lodgings, both in public and private houſes.

"Their ſeaſons of jollity are very ſcarce," p. 97. Perſons of faſhion have their diverſions at ſeaſonable times, as muſick, comedies, retreats into the country in ſummer, as well as their ſleds in

the

the winter: whereas he ſays, "they content themſelves with "running at the gooſe on Shrove-Tueſday," p 97. One would think that men of quality ran at this gooſe; but it is only a paſtime of his beloved boors of Amack, and performed by them: only ſometimes, becauſe of the odd frolicks of theſe peaſants, perſons of better character condeſcend to be their ſpectators.

Perhaps it may be thought too nice for him to remark, "That "nobody preſumes to go in a ſled till the King and court has "begun; that the King paſſes over a new bridge the firſt; and "that the clocks of Copenhagen ſtrike the hours after the court "clock," p. 97. If theſe remarks were but as true as they are nice, they would be admirable: but, as ſoon as the ſnow comes, every one *preſumes* to uſe his ſled; the diverſion of it indeed is become more faſhionable, when the King and court have done it one night through Copenhagen. As for new bridges, ſome of them might drop down again without any paſſage over them if no one were to go till the King had done it: in the mean time our Author muſt provide ferries for the paſſengers. The clocks of Copenhagen muſt be the moſt complaiſant in the world; otherwiſe, if ſome traiterous clocks ſhould chance to go too faſt, they might make an exception to a rule ſo univerſal. I like this account our Author gives us of precedency in ſuch ridiculous matters moſt extremely; becauſe, having been ſearching, according to his advice, among the Barbarians, I find ſomething like it at the Savage court of Monomotapa, where the Emperor, having dined, commands a trumpet to be ſounded, to give notice to the reſt of the princes of the world, that they may go to dinner.

The language, he ſays, "is very ungrateful, and like the Iriſh "in its whining complaining tone," p. 98. He may be as free with the Iriſh as he pleaſes. But the Danes and Norſh ſpeak more like the Engliſh in their accent than any other people; and therefore theſe two nations moſt eaſily learn to read, ſpeak, and underſtand, one another's languages, upon occaſion. There is "a great agreement between their monoſyllables," p. 98; which, being generally the particles and ſtrength or ſinews of a language, ſhew that the Engliſh has not only incorporated the old Saxon, but the Daniſh likewiſe, to bring it to its preſent perfection. At court, High Dutch and French are much uſed, and alſo Italian. Though converſation often paſſes in theſe; yet, if "any ſhould boaſt that he could not ſpeak Daniſh," p. 98, he

would render himſelf ridiculous; and an Engliſhman might think him not worthy to eat Daniſh bread: and indeed with reaſon; for, among the living tongues, there is none that, for its abundance, the propriety of the expreſſion, the fitneſs and agreeableneſs to poetry and numbers, can pretend to ſurpaſs it.

I ſhall finiſh the remarks upon this chapter with a recapitulation of what the Author has delivered in it. Was ever any man ſo planet-ſtruck as this Writer, to pronounce a people the "moſt miſerable" in one page, and to fill the next with "the "grandeur and equipage, p. 83, of the gentry, the plenty of "their tables," p. 92; their retreats for pleaſure "in fruitful "and delightſome gardens," ibid.; at the ſame time declaring "that the burghers, ſervants, and even peaſants, have change of "linen, and are neat and cleanly," p. 93? What country can boaſt of more than plenty and neatneſs?

He begins with telling us, "that, in former times, when the "nobility and gentry were the ſame thing," p. 76; that is, during the times that the nobles had "an exceſs of power," p. 76, in their hands; "they lived in great affluence and proſperity," ibid. which he takes much pains to deſcribe, and every body will eaſily be induced to believe. "Then the commons were willing "in a great meaſure to be directed by them," ibid.; that is, "becauſe they depended on them," ibid.; were forced, "like "ſlaves," p. 54, to truckle to them whether they would or no. "But, in proceſs of time, the liberties of the whole country were "loſt," p. 76. By which alteration, the nobles were reduced to ſome bounds, and the commons delivered from a tyrannical ariſtocracy, p. 73. This change forſooth "creates in them all a "kind of lazineſs and idle deſpondency, ſetting them beyond "hopes and fears; inſomuch that even the nobility are now "deſirous," p. 78, "to procure employments civil (ſtrange!) and "military (wonderful!)"—Civil, I ſuppoſe, without *hopes*; and military, without *fears*.

Under theſe circumſtances, "it is eaſily imagined, the preſent "condition of ſuch a people in all ranks is moſt deplorable," p. 75; "their nobility and gentry ſunk very low, and diminiſh-"ing daily both in number and credit," p. 76; "they are forced "to live meanly and obſcurely in ſome corner of their ruinous "palaces; and patiently endure their poverty at home; their

"ſpirits

" ſpirits (for there was not ſo much as a ſong or tune made in " three years, p. 96,) as well as eſtates grown ſo mean, that " you would ſcarce believe them to be gentlemen by their diſ- " courſe and garb."

The truth of all which foregoing aſſertions is ſeen in nothing more plainly than in what he fully delivers to us, concerning the extravagant expences which the Danes are at, in " coaches, " retinue, cloaths," &c. p. 83. They ride abroad, it ſeems, poor gentlemen! in " their coaches with great equipage," to ſhew " how patiently they endure their poverty in ſome obſcure corner " of their ruinous palaces!" They go ſo " very fine in their dreſs, " after the French mode," p. 93. and are ſo " prodigal in their " cloaths," p. 83, " that you would ſcarce believe them to be " gentlemen by their garb."—" Their tables are ſo well furniſhed " with diſhes," p. 92, and their gardens afford them fruit in " ſo great perfection," that they are forced to ſeek employments, " that they may eat a piece of bread," p. 79. 81. But, if they have a mind to carouſe, or be exceſſive in their drinking, they have " Rheniſh and French wines," p. 93, to do it with: and upon a merry bout, even a boor can drop a rixdollar, for a chiruping doſe of " brandy," p. 84; and, though he has neither plate nor " ſilver ſpoon in his cottage," p. 88, yet can be as merry as a prince, and has " clean linen," p. 93. (poor ſlave!) p. 86; and a good feather-bed, (poor Negro!) p. 88, to go home and lye down on.

To conclude; when any of the gentry dye, they leave ſuch eſtates behind them, as that their children think themſelves obliged to make " coſtly burials," and raiſe " ſumptuous monu- " ments," p. 94, to their memory.

Such is their miſery when living; ſuch their ignominy when dead!

CHAP. IX.

Of the Revenue.

LET us in this Chapter follow the Author's advice, p. 102, and "meaſure Hercules by his foot." If what has gone before does not ſuffice, let us at leaſt from hence take the height of his fancy, and the level of his underſtanding.

He does indeed throughout the whole purſue his firſt deſign; which is, to multiply the taxes, and yet afterwards to leſſen the revenue. With what art he does it, and with what reſpect to truth, the following inſtances may convince the reader.

Conſumption, or exciſe upon things conſumable, is the firſt tax he mentions, p. 100. The Danes perhaps took their pattern for this from Holland. But here the Author, to multiply the taxes, makes three of one; for he ſays, "There are beſides "ſmaller taxes; as, thirdly, upon marriages, where every couple "marrying pay ſo much for their licence, according to their "qualities; this is pretty high, and comes in ſome caſes to 30 "or 40 rixdollars." This is only a branch of the conſumption; where it is decreed, that every couple that marries ſhall pay a ſmall matter to the King; nor is this *pretty high*, for it ſeldom amounts among the common people higher than from half a rixdollar to a whole one. But paying for licences for marriage is quite another thing. People of quality, that will not have the public bans thrice proclaimed in the churches, and beſides deſire to be married at home in their houſes privately, buy licenſes, and commonly pay 10 rixdollars for them. That tax for "brewing, grinding, &c." is nothing elſe but the conſumption paid by brewers or millers.

"Poll-money," he ſays, p. 101, "is ſometimes raiſed twice a "year." This is more than the Danes know of (or, if it might have happened, is extremely rare); and in raiſing this tax, more proportion is obſerved in Denmark between the ſubſtance of one and another than any where elſe: wherefore it is very far from truth, that "it is only gueſſed at."

"Fortification-tax, or money raiſed for or upon pretence of "making fortifications," p. 101, was never raiſed but once, which was three years ago; nor was it done then upon *pretence*, but

but expended upon the fortifications of Croneborg, Renſborg, &c. and then, to eaſe the ſubject, the poll-tax was not gathered that year. Marriage-tax for a daughter of Denmark is raiſed upon occaſion (as in other places); but that "under this name "occaſion is taken to raiſe more than the portion," is more than any one can pretend to demonſtrate.

"Trade-money," p. 101, "where every tradeſman is taxed for "the exerciſing his trade, and moreover obliged to quarter "ſoldiers," is a tax never heard of; except what a tradeſman pays to his company in the cities where he begins to exerciſe his trade, and this is very unjuſtly called a tax to the King; and then he is obliged to quarter ſoldiers, not as a tradeſman, but a burgher.

"Ground-rent," he ſays, p. 102, "is paid for all houſes in "Copenhagen, or any other towns in Denmark; which are "taxed by the King when he pleaſes." This is called *byſkat*, or town-tax, and is contributed towards the city-ſtock, and is a very ſmall matter; nothing near 4 *per cent.* as he afterwards, p. 103, would perſuade us. In the other cities of Denmark, this tax was never known to be paid to the King: but in Copenhagen ſuch a thing may have happened once, inſtead of another tax which then ceaſed.

We come next to ſix very edifying pages, viz. p. 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108; where any one that is curious may know the exciſe upon muſtard-ſeed, eggs, tripe, and coleworts; alſo upon eels, ſoap, and herrings: which ſheet of his Book can be no where more acceptable, nor of greater uſe, than for the more careful preſervation of thoſe commodities, when they are to be carried from Leaden-hall or Newgate market.

"Public-mills," it ſeems, "there are," p. 109; "where all the "inhabitants of Copenhagen are bound to grind, and to pay the "ſums above-mentioned for grinding." There are ſuch mills; but they cauſe no new tax: and what is paid for grinding there, is as cheap as it would be done any where elſe; they being appointed only, that ſo the conſumption-tax may not be avoided.

Having gone a ſecond time over his taxes, and given an account of ſome that had never been, and others that have ſeldom been; he comes at laſt, p. 213, to one "that had like to have "been: for, if the King's only daughter had been married to

"the Elector of Saxony, as ſhe was about to be, a tax had cer-"tainly been levied." Perhaps there might! In the mean time what does this tax do here; eſpecially when (in the very next words) he ſuppoſes that, by this, an Engliſh Reader has taken a ſurfeit of his account of taxes? For, if he muſt have ſurfeited us, it might have been with ſomething to the purpoſe. I confeſs no tax the Danes lie under ſurfeits me half ſo much, as the having paid three ſhillings for ſuch a narrative.

After all that he has ſaid, it is eaſily imagined, that a fleet and army cannot be maintained without taxes, which are raiſed either upon land, by poll-money or exciſe. His preſent Majeſty has with great wiſdom cauſed "a valuation of all houſes in cities, "and an admeaſurement of all lands in the country," p. 110; from whence every man pays in proportion to his eſtate, and "each farm is taxed higher or lower, according to the fertility "of the land, ſeaſonableneſs of the year, or ability of the land-"lord," p. 101. "So there is an equality of the taxes, and the "manner of taxing," p. 247. This makes the people both willing and able to bear them: and as the contrary, viz. unequal taxation, was the cauſe of the alteration of the government, ſo this is the preſervation of it.

Were Denmark in "a profound peace," as the Author imagines, p. 114; then he might have cried out with ſome reaſon, "Pax "ſervientibus gravior eſt, quàm liberis bellum." But, when the greateſt princes in Europe are in arms, during the noiſe and tumult of war, the peace of Denmark cannot be ſo "profound." And I believe that it is no ill maxim for a neuter prince to take care, whilſt his neighbours are in war, that the conqueror ſhall not be able to hurt him. Denmark endeavours to do this, and accordingly keeps up a fleet and army; ſo that, "if a war ſhould "happen," he need not be in ſuſpenſe "whether his ſubjects "could poſſibly bear a greater burthen," p. 110; for there would not be a neceſſity for much more towards maintaining them; and then, beſides the diſciplining of the men, there would be all that charge ſaved, which attends upon the levying of new ſoldiers.

From this account of taxes, the Author brings us to a catalogue of other miſeries: "The number of trading ſhips is de-"creaſed, and does not come up to what it did within theſe "thirty

"thirty years," p. 116; "and the foreign trade of Norway is "conſiderably diminiſhed ſince their late quarrel with the Dutch," p. 115: whereas, in truth, the trade never was greater than it is now; and the Dutch can ſo little be ſupplied with their wooden commodities from Sweden, that they are glad to re-fix their commerce with Norway again.

He gives us, p. 117, his computation of the ſhips that trade thither, and that paſs the ſound yearly: but I never liked his computations, becauſe I have before found him wrong in his arithmetick; and at preſent there is a difference that I cannot eaſily reconcile. In his Chapter of the Sound, p. 23, 24, 25, he recites "a letter from a very underſtanding perſon, March 31, "1691," which gives him to underſtand, "that, ſince the peace "with Sweden, the Sound has not yielded above 80,000 rix-"dollars *per annum*; and the laſt year paſt, it did not reach to "full 70,000." Now, if I ſhould have believed his "underſtand-"ing friend," what a miſtake I might have run into! For, when the Author himſelf comes to give us his opinion of it, p. 115, he ſays, that, "in the years 1690 and 1691, it amounted not to "much more than 65,000 rixdollars, at which rate we may judge "it likely to continue." Seeing this diſagreement between him and his "underſtanding friend;" what credit can we ſtrangers give to the letter of advice, when there are at leaſt 4000 rix-dollars, in the account between them, which he will not take his friend's word for?

"There is another branch of the King's revenue," p. 117, "which is leaſt conſiderable, and ariſes from the rents of the "crown-lands and confiſcated eſtates. The latter are in the "King's hands, either upon account of forfeiture for treaſon and "other crimes, or by reaſon of debt and non-payment of taxes; "but, notwithſtanding this addition of lands, the King is ſo far "from being the richer, that he is the poorer for it." And were the thing true, "that eſtates fell in to the crown rather "than pay taxes," it would be great pity that the King ſhould receive any advantage by them! But ſuch ſurrenders are as imaginary as his confiſcations for treaſon and other crimes: for Denmark is that happy country, where, according to his own words, p. 139, "you never hear of any perſon guilty of the "crime of treaſon againſt the King; there are no clippers and "coiners,

"coiners, no robbers upon the high-way, nor houſe-breakers." So that if he, being an exact arithmetician, will put together the rents of eſtates given to the King rather than pay taxes; the rents of eſtates confiſcated for treaſon; rents of eſtates forfeited for coining, robbing, and houſe-breaking, to the money ariſing to his Majeſty from "the tax which might have been," p. 113; the ſum total will probably be juſt nothing.

But farther, as for this ſort of land, "it generally turns to "foreſt, and contributes to his diverſion, though little to his "purſe," p. 118. It is a ſign his purſe needs no ſupply, when he can afford ſo much ground for his diverſion. "And then "the royal palaces run to decay," ibid.; and ſo they do in all countries, when the prince is better pleaſed with another ſituation. As for ſeveral of the King of Denmark's palaces, they are old uncouth buildings, uſed by former Kings, diſuſed now, and therefore not kept in ſo good order as Frederickſborg, Jagerſborg, and others, where the King paſſes ſome part of the year.

The Author, it ſeems, has met with another "underſtanding "perſon," p. 119, who has informed him in ſeveral things; as, firſt, "that it is very difficult to make any rational computation "of the running caſh of theſe kingdoms," or indeed of any kingdom beſides this; and ſo his labour might have been ſuperſeded; "certainly it is but very little, and not near the hundredth "part of that of England," ibid. When he is able to give a rational computation of the running caſh of England, then it will be time enough to gueſs what proportion that of Denmark may bear to it: but, till I find that underſtanding perſons agree in the computation of that of my own country, I ſhall deſpair of finding them exact as to that of another. If "they have no "caſh by them, and are indebted over head and ears to their "creditors at Amſterdam and Hamburgh," ibid. how comes it to paſs that the Daniſh merchants have ſo good credit in both thoſe cities, and how come they to have it in London? "But "the officers of the army tranſport their money to other coun-"tries." This may be true in ſome very few inſtances; but, for the moſt part, theſe officers are Danes, or married and ſettled in Denmark, as has before been intimated. "That few or "none of the miniſters of ſtate purchaſe any lands," p. 118, is as true as other of his remarks; for there is no public miniſter,

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be he Dane or not, that has not one, two, or more ſeats, with lands appertaining to them, in the country. "That theſe kingdoms "conſume more of foreign commodities than their own product "can countervail," ibid. cannot certainly be ſaid of Norway, nor of ſeveral provinces of Denmark, as Jutland, Laaland, &c.; and any perſon who has the leaſt knowledge of their traffick will eaſily confute this aſſertion. As for "running of braſs-money "amongſt the common people," it is as farthings amongſt us. Their ſilver coin is very good in reſpect of ſeveral other nations, although not equal to Sterling; but, whether the goodneſs of coin be a way to preſerve running caſh in a kingdom, may perhaps hereafter come to be conſidered by the Engliſh.

Under theſe circumſtances, I cannot think this "underſtanding perſon" a competent judge of the running caſh of Denmark; any more than I take the Author to be of the King of Denmark's revenue, though he is ſo very particular as to make it "two millions two hundred twenty-two thouſand rixdollars," p. 122. And I am the more confirmed in this opinion, becauſe, the taxes not being every year the ſame, the revenue received by ſeveral officers, and no account given but to the King himſelf, the calculation of the revenue can hardly be made by thoſe who are moſt employed in theſe affairs at the court, much leſs by a foreigner.

"To conclude with Norway: the revenue of the Southern part "amounts to between five and ſix hundred thouſand rixdollars, "and of the Northern to between two and three hundred thou- "ſand; and ſo the total may be, *communibus annis*, 800,000 "rixdollars." So ſays the Author, p. 117. But, when he comes to ſum up the whole revenue, p. 121, there all the revenue of Norway comes but to 700,000 rixdollars. Were their loſſes in Denmark to be ſo great, "the natives," p. 120, "might well think that it was impoſſible for the taxes to con- "tinue; and wiſh for an invader, ſince they have little or no "property to loſe." For you were pleaſed, Sir, to drop four thouſand rixdollars in the cuſtoms of the Sound; and here you defalk a hundred thouſand rixdollars more. Might I adviſe, whatever foreigners may be preferred in the Daniſh court, you ſhould never come into the treaſury, if you can make up your accompts no better.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Army, Fleet, and Fortreſſes.

THE Author begins this Chapter with bewailing the miſery of Denmark, that the revenue is expended upon a ſtanding army, and upon the maintaining of a fleet and fortreſſes: and if Denmark had not ſufficient reaſons for the maintenance of all theſe, they would have juſt cauſe to complain.

But it ſeems it is "the King of France, that great maſter of the "art of reigning, that has inſtructed the court of Denmark," p. 123; "and the King is his pupil," p. 124: and in purſuance to ſuch a character, he has taught him "the pernicious ſecret of making one "part of the people both the bridle and ſcourge to the other." This is not ſo great a ſecret, but that it has been known and practiſed in all ages and countries; that, when one part of a nation is factious and mutinous, the more honeſt and ſober part ſhould *bridle* them; and if part of a nation rebel, the other, that is for quietneſs, ſhould endeavour to ſcourge and correct them. But, God be thanked! Denmark has no occaſion for an army upon theſe accounts, nor neceſſity of going to France for ſuch a maxim. In the next place, "France has taught him to raiſe more men "than his country can maintain," p. 124. Very well! and then his own prudence teaches him to diſband ſuch as he thinks unneceſſary or burthenſome to him, as he has done ſeveral times. But the great thing that he has taught him is, "that ſoldiers are "the only true riches," p. 125—127. The thing that the Author would here reflect upon is, that the German Princes often receive money, before they will ſend their troops into a foreign ſervice; and hence he would infer, "that at preſent ſoldiers are "grown as ſaleable ware as ſheep and oxen," p. 125. What a ſtrange country muſt this be, "where the ſoldiers are ſheep and "oxen, and the peaſants timber-trees!" p. 86. But the King of Denmark eſteems his ſoldiers to be his wealth, only as he can make them ſerviceable to his allies, or as they preſerve his ſubjects from any foreign attempts, and ſo are the cauſe of quiet, and conſequently of "true riches."

Yet, whatever the matter is, it happens, p. 127, that the pupil improves but ill upon the example which the French King has ſet him. "The toad may emulate the ox, and ſwell; but he

" ſhall ſooner burſt than equal him," p. 127. Truly a very decent ſimilitude for a couple of crowned heads! I find the Author mightily taken with this kind of animals; for, ſpeaking with reference to, and commendation of, the laws of Denmark, p. 232, he ſays, " there is no plant or inſect, how " venomous or mean ſoever, but is good for ſomething." Upon which, a friend of mine obſerved, that there may be a creature in the world, that has as much venom and malice as any vermin, and yet be good for nothing.

It were to be wiſhed that there could be a remedy found for keeping up ſo great a number of ſoldiers as are at preſent in Europe. But his own words, p. 126, " that none of the Kings " or Princes, though endowed with a more peaceable ſpirit and " better judgement than the reſt, dares lead the dance and diſarm, " for fear of his armed neighbours," excuſe not only the King of Denmark, but thoſe other Kings whom he obliquely would blame upon this occaſion.

To give a liſt of the Daniſh officers, would be too nice, and is continually variable. However, the King of Denmark may be ſaid to have above twenty thouſand men in pay, beſides thoſe that are in the Emperor's and the King of England's ſervice. I have before given an account of the ſoldiery; only I muſt add this farther, that when he ſays, " the troopers are maintained by their " peaſants," p. 135, the Reader muſt know, that there are particular peaſants living on lands in the country, that are appropriated to this uſe; ſo that ſuch a peaſant as contributes to the maintaining of theſe troopers pay the leſs, both rent and taxes. " That " theſe troopers are none of the beſt ſoldiers," ibid. is reported by this Author; becauſe he confeſſes " they are generally na- " tives," ibid. Yet King William has judged far better of the three regiments of horſe that he had from Denmark; the half part of which behaved themſelves ſo well in the battle of Landen (for the other half was with the Duke of Wirtemberg), that his Majeſty was pleaſed to compliment their colonels particularly upon the bravery and valour of their troops.

The Author gives us a reaſon, p. 135, why there are not more natives in the army; " becauſe the landlords, whoſe ſlaves they " are, can hinder them from entering into the King's ſervice, " and remand them if any ſhould offer ſo to do." This is true only of the *vornede*, whoſe condition has heretofore been deſcribed:

ſcribed: but it is an apparent proof that the King of Denmark is not ſo arbitrary as he would make him, and that the Danes have not entirely loſt their property; ſince they have ſuch an authority as to be able to deny their King the taking of men from their farms, though they are to be employed in the ſervice of their country.

As for the French officers, which he ſays are in the army; the moſt part of them are ſuch as have been forced to leave their country for the ſake of religion: and Denmark thinks it a duty and honour to be able to grant them protection.

In his account of the fortifications, p. 143, inſtead of ſaying that Nakſkow is of no defence, he might have ſaid, that Nakſkow is a good fortreſs; which it ſhewed in the war with Sweden, when it longer reſiſted the enemy than moſt of the other towns. He ſpeaks as ſlightly of the fortifications of Copenhagen in this place, p. 144, as he did before; although that, and not Renſburg, ibid. is the moſt conſiderable place for ſtrength that the King of Denmark has. Neither is Nyborg ſo much out of repair; nor Fredericks-hall, which is the ſtrongeſt place in Norway by natural ſituation, ſo much commanded by the neighbouring hill as he would inſinuate.

In the account of the fleet, which he makes to conſiſt of but two and thirty ſhips, p. 141, he has omitted ſeveral; and as to what he ſays, "that it was never ſet to ſea thus equipt," p. 142, the late wars with Sweden may ſufficiently confute him: and yet the King of Denmark had much fewer ſhips then than he has at preſent. The Danes and Norſh are very good ſeamen: the Dutch are mightily deſirous of them, and conſequently have ſeveral in their ſervice; yet not ſo but that they would return upon occaſion; and indeed all the ſeamen are ſo ready to be employed in the King's ſervice, that there is no need of preſſing, to man the fleet. To make this the more eaſy, the ſea officers are kept in pay during a peace as well as in time of war; and ſo are the ſeamen, who have a ſalary, and are employed in the *Bremer holm*, in working upon all materials neceſſary for the naval ſervice. As for the ſea proviſion of the Danes, which he ſays is very bad; the contrary will eaſily be evinced by any that have experience of it. "The mutiny of the ſeamen," p. 138, and "the beſieging the King in his palace," p. 139, is a mere ſtory; for "in Denmark are no mutineers," p. 246. But it may have happened

happened that the ſeamens wives may have had complaints to the lords of the admiralty: now, the admiralty being oppoſite to the caſtle, their flocking thither, perhaps to this over-curious Gentleman, who is troubled with ſeveral "active qualities which liberty "and freedom beget," p. 75, and has his head always full of commotions, may have ſeemed to have been a mutiny.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Court.

TO give characters of living princes and public miniſters of ſtate, muſt be a thing very difficult: it is not eaſy for the man who would make them to ſet aſide paſſion or partiality; and, mens tempers, humours, inclinations, and intereſts, daily nay hourly varying, it is hard to fix a laſting character upon a man, till we ſee the whole thread and tenour of his life and actions. This is one reaſon why I do not defer ſo much to the characters which the Author gives in this Chapter. Beſides, when I have found him miſtaken in his account and deſcription of things which are ſenſible and permanent, I ſhall be much more cautious how I truſt him as to his notions of men, who are mutable and various; eſpecially when he would make his ſearch into the receſſes of their mind, and there diſcover their very thoughts and "ſincerity," p. 168. For, if the Author's converſation be like his writing, a man might be very free and open in his temper, and yet appear reſerved to him; for it is the opinion taken of the man which makes one diſcloſe one's ſelf to him. And I am the more confirmed in not relying upon theſe characters, becauſe, in the ſame Chapter, when he is to give us an account of ſo conſiderable a court, he tells us things ſo very ridiculous—as, that I muſt go "for an idea of the Daniſh court to ſome Engliſh "noblemen," p. 159. Methinks, "the horſe and foot guards, and "trabands, the kettle-drums, the trumpets, which are in perfection, "and, being ranged in a large place before the palace, proclaim "aloud the very minute when he ſits down to table," declare to me that there is ſome difference.—"That few or no gentlemen "that have no employments come to court," p. 159. I cannot imagine whither men ſhould go, or where they ſhould ſooner pay their

their attendance, for the obtaining of preferment, if they have any hopes or merits to deſerve it.—"That the King's children, domeſ-"tic and foreign miniſters, officers of the army and houſehold, "who appear in the anti-chamber and bed-chamber, ſeldom "amount to above the number of twenty or thirty," p. 159. I cannot think the number ſeldom to exceed *thirty*, when the royal family is ſo numerous as to make ſeven of them; and methinks courteſy, duty, or intereſt at leaſt, might bring four and twenty more, to make above thirty.—"That there is a plentiful table, but "the meat is dreſt after their own manner," p. 158. Ridiculous! Is not the King of Spain's dreſt after his own manner?—There are abundance more of the like particulars, which I ſhall omit; only this one, where he ſays, "That King Frederick had "once the thoughts of making the preſent Count Guldenlew "King of Norway; which has been remembered to his preju-"dice," p. 155: for it is what was never heard of in Denmark; nor could that thought have been conſiſtent with ſuch a King's great wiſdom. I muſt, for theſe reaſons, beg the Author's pardon, if I do not give an entire belief to his characters; and the Readers, for my not giving any of the ſame perſons myſelf: but with a very ſhort deſcription of the court conclude this Chapter.

The King of Denmark's great and royal qualities make him univerſally beloved by his people; and the Queen, by her goodneſs, obliges them to the ſame affection, and makes her difference in opinion from them ſcarce diſcernible. Frederick the Prince Royal, in his late travels, where-ever he came, appeared accompliſhed and very gracious; and at home he is admired, for having ſuch a temper as will follow his father's example, and purſue his deſigns for the eaſe and proſperity of his ſubjects. Prince Chriſtian has all the vigour and gaiety of youth; and the two younger Princes Charles and William give great hopes, agreeable to their reſpective ages; and the Princeſs Sophia Hedewig has all that beauty and ſweetneſs, which will one day render ſome young Prince happy. The miniſters of ſtate, who compoſe the council, as Guldenlew, Reventlaw, &c. are perſons of honour and fidelity to their maſter; by whoſe advice affairs are ſo managed, that he has love at home, and honour abroad. Though the court has not all that luxury which may be in ſome more Southern climates, yet there is decency and a ſufficient grandeur: nor is it ſtrange that a warlike Prince and nation ſhould expreſs their magnificence

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by things ſuitable, as the attendance of horſe and foot guards, kettle-drums, and trumpets; and conſequently that the King's diverſions ſhould be the reviewing of his troops, or hunting in its proper ſeaſon, as an exerciſe becoming a ſoldier. Theſe occaſion frequent removals of the court; which can go no where to a finer place than Frederickſburg, which, though it be not built after the modern architecture, yet may be eſteemed one of the pleaſanteſt palaces in Europe. The ladies likewiſe have their diverſions; not only in the hunting of deer and ſwans, but the nicer ones of their ſleds, muſick, maſquerades, and comedies. To increaſe the grandeur of the court, the King has two orders of knighthood. The firſt, being that of the Elephant, is given only to foreign Princes, or ſubjects of the higheſt deſerts and qualities. The other, which is the order of Danebroge, was inſtituted long ago; but not, as our Author ſays, "by one King Dan, who "ſaw a white croſs with red edges deſcend from heaven, and "and thereupon inſtituted the order," p. 178. For King Waldemar II, fighting againſt the Iſlanders in the year 1219, ſaw, or pretended to ſee, this banner deſcend from heaven, which was followed by a great victory; and in remembrance of this, the order of Danebroge was inſtituted. This was laid aſide a great while, but revived by his preſent Majeſty. The knights are inferior to thoſe of the Elephant; yet they are both fewer in number, p. 179, and greater in honour by far, than the baronets in England.

As to the rank and precedency of all great officers and other perſons, the Author has given us an ordonnance in French concerning it, which was publiſhed in 1680. It is true that his account is to repreſent Denmark as it ſtood in 1692. However, it is ſtrange that ſo curious and exact a man ſhould have no correſpondence there from 92 till 94, when his Book was publiſhed; for then he might have known that, by a new ordonnance, dated 11th of February, 1693, this old ordonnance of our Author's is altered in abundance of particulars, ſo that he has nine whole pages of his Book, that, by his negligence, are entirely good for nothing.

CHAP. XII.

The Diſpoſition and Inclinations of the King of Denmark toward his Neighbours.

THIS Chapter ſeems to labour under the ſame difficulties with the former: for, as we ſee the intereſts of Princes are changeable, ſo are their inclinations; upon which reaſon I ſhall leave him to dive into the hearts of men and the cabinets of Princes, and only ſee whether his matter of fact be abſolutely true: for, that being the foundation, according as that appears, we ſhall be able to give our opinion of his ſuperſtructure.

Firſt, as this Author is a mighty lover of ſeditions within a kingdom, ſo he is of animoſities and quarrels without: therefore his preſage is very common, and often repeated, "That "there will be a freſh war between Denmark and Sweden." But, on the contrary, they rather grow greater friends every day than other; nor has there been a ſtricter alliance between thoſe crowns than is at preſent, which has been lately renewed by ſolemn treaties.

Secondly, "Whenever," ſays he, "we pleaſe to careſs the one "at the expence of the other, this ſeeming knot will diſcover the "weakneſs of the contexture, and probably diſſolve of itſelf," p. 192. Theſe two Princes are not to be ſuppoſed to break ſolemn oaths and treaties for a little intereſt that may be proffered them by England and Holland: and we ſaw this laſt year, when the Danes ſtopt the Dutch ſhips in the Sound, the Swede, although never ſo much careſſed, could not be prevailed with to go off from the King of Denmark's intereſt, or take any other party; but contributed what he could, to procure a ſatisfaction for his confederate.

Thirdly, "That the alliance, by the King of Sweden's having "married the other's ſiſter, is not of any moment towards a good "correſpondence," p. 192, is not altogether ſo certain; for this Queen, whilſt ſhe lived, was the greateſt tie between theſe two nations. She was the delight of them both; and that not without reaſon, for ſhe had all the accompliſhments of piety, wiſdom, goodneſs, and all other virtues: ſo that Sweden loves Denmark for nothing more than the having received from thence a Queen for whom they had ſo great a veneration.

Fourthly, he wrongs the King of Sweden, when he ſays, p. 193, "that he ſhewed coldneſs and indifference enough to his Queen." He "a virtuous Prince," ibid. and ſhe "an accompliſhed "Princeſs,"

"Princeſs," ibid.; and yet "coldneſs and indifference!" What is this but a contradiction? But the matter of fact is this, that never a greater love and eſteem could be had for a Queen, than this King had for his; which was manifeſtly enough ſhewn by the deep affliction her death threw him into, ſo that he would ſcarce admit of conſolation: and Sweden never heard of ſuch a ſumptuouſneſs and magnificence as that wherewith her burial was accompanied.

Fifthly, whatever he ominates concerning "the Swedes avoid-"ing a farther matrimonial tie with Denmark," p. 193; yet it is true, that the general report of the world is concerning a double marriage, between the Prince Royal of Denmark and the Princeſs of Sweden, as alſo between the Prince Royal of Sweden and the Princeſs of Denmark. If ſo, where is this Gentleman's aſſurance of the impoſſibility of a farther matrimonial tie; or the certainty of the Prince of Holſtein's being contracted to the Princeſs of Sweden, whom he falſely calls, p. 193, "the only daughter of the "King of Sweden;" this King having two Princeſſes living by the lately deceaſed Queen?

Sixthly, as the Author is pretty near, in gueſſing that "the "King of Denmark would not ſit down with the Duke of Zell's "thruſting himſelf into the Dutchy of Saxe Lunenburg;" ſo he is out of the way, when he ſays that "the King of Sweden "would uphold the Lunenburg family, though ſecretly:" for the Swede was one of the chief mediators that made the Duke of Zell demoliſh Ratzeburg laſt year, and give the King of Denmark the ſatisfaction which he deſired.

Seventhly, when he ſays, "that the Duke of Holſtein has, by "the ſiſter of the King of Denmark, iſſue, a very hopeful Prince;" one ſhould think he has no more iſſue than this only ſon: whereas the Duke of Holſtein has ſeveral children of both ſexes.

CHAP. XIII.

The Manner of diſpoſſeſſing and reſtoring the Duke of Holſtein Gottorp.

ANY one who reads this and the foregoing Chapter will ſee the Author's partiality for the Duke of Holſtein. He ſeems to have undertaken his cauſe, and to diſplay it in all its

beſt colours and brightneſs. It were an eaſy thing, in anſwer to all this, to tranſcribe the King of Denmark's manifeſto upon this occaſion; which thoſe who are curious may conſult if they pleaſe, it having been ſpread about all Germany. But I ſhall avoid meddling with any juſtification of the King of Denmark upon this account: the reaſon is, becauſe there is at preſent an entire reconciliation between the King and his brother-in-law the Duke; and laſt year they met together with great friendſhip in Holſtein. Now reconciliation clears up a thouſand things, which diſtruſt, jealouſy, or miſunderſtanding, may have caſt before one: what heretofore may have ſeemed unkind or unjuſt, then will appear to have been neceſſary; but, eſpecially upon the renewing of friendſhip, there ſhould be no juſtification of former proceedings made by either party; for ſuch juſtification ſhews as if the breach were not thoroughly repaired, and will give a handle for future diſputes and difficulties: ſince no reconcilement will be perfect, but ſuch as carries along with it an entire oblivion of paſt differences and all their circumſtances.

CHAP. XIV.

The Intereſts of Denmark in relation to other Princes.

I SHALL be very ſhort in relation to this Chapter, becauſe it is of the ſame nature with the former.

What he ſays of Denmark, that "it reſembles a monſter, that "is all head and no body, all ſoldiers and no ſubjects," p. 224, has been ſufficiently confuted. However, if I were to have a monſter, I would rather have one that is all head and no body, than ſuch a one as he would make, which is all body and no head.

Neither am I of opinion that Denmark bears no greater proportion to France than "the little republick of St. Marino does "to Venice," or that "Denmark is the leaſt and pooreſt king-"dom in Europe," p. 225: for, as to its poverty, I have given him an account; and as to the littleneſs of this kingdom, I muſt a ſecond time make bold with the firſt words of his Book againſt him:

him; "That, if we conſider the extent of the King of Denmark's "dominions, he may with juſtice be reckoned among the greateſt "Princes in Europe."

CHAP. XV.

Of the Laws, Courts of Juſtice, &c.

THE Danes are ſprung from the Goths, who have always been a moſt warlike nation. They have left no Northern people free from their incurſions at leaſt, if not their conqueſts; and extended them from Iſland to the warmer climates of Spain and Italy, and the burning ſhores of Africa[x]; and have the honour never to have ſubmitted to the Roman empire, nor to have any juſt pretences made from thence of ſuperiority or dominion over them. Their Hiſtorians affirm, that they have had a continued ſucceſſion of Princes from a thouſand and forty years before Chriſt, who have continually governed them. They have always been ruled by their own laws, without foreign impoſitions. Theſe laws and cuſtoms were ſo agreeable to the Northern people, that Roger Hoveden, in his Annals of Henry the Second of England, ſays, "that, when William the Conqueror was to give "laws to the Engliſh, he made the greateſt uſe of the Daniſh "laws to that purpoſe, from the love he bore to the Danes, from "whom the Normans took their original." Under the forementioned laws and cuſtoms the Danes lived: which they might poſſibly explain or improve by the Civil or Roman Law that Pontanus[y] ſays they made uſe of, and which the governors of their monaſteries underſtood and ſtudied, having learnt them in the univerſities of France and Italy[z]. King Waldemar, in the year of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred thirty-two, collected the ſtatutes of his predeceſſors, which, with the ancient cuſtoms of the Danes and Cimbers, he reduced into writing; and, adding ſeveral others together, with the conſent of the ſtates, he made an

[x] Krantzius, in Danic. lib. i. &c. Meurſius, Hiſt. Dan. lib. ii. iii. Iſaac Pontanus, Rer. Dan.

[y] Lib. vi.

[z] Georg. Lorich. in addit. ad Conf. poſter. n. 92. Helmold. lib. iii. Chron. Sclavorum, c. 5.

entire body of the Daniſh law[a]. Yet this was but for one province; for formerly each province, Jutland, Sealand, &c. had their own particular laws, differing from one another. And indeed, ſince his preſent Majeſty's collection and reformation of the laws, the Daniſh and Norſh law is ſtill diſtinguiſhed; ſo that there is juſt ſuch another volume comprehending the Norſh law, as that of the Daniſh: but there is no difference, except in ſuch things where the nature and ſituation of Norway require another regulation than Denmark. In Norway likewiſe is another high court of juſtice, where the viceroy is reſident, to which all cauſes may come by appeal: but, if the parties be not contented with the deciſion of that court, they have a further appeal to the higheſt court in Copenhagen.

Holſtein is ruled by the Imperial law, as a fief of the Empire: and there are at Copenhagen two chanceries; the Daniſh for Denmark and Norway, the Germain for Holſtein and the other German provinces belonging to the King of Denmark.

He has ſaid nothing of the eccleſiaſtical courts in Denmark, which are in every dioceſe where the Biſhop is reſident; and ſeveral of the chief of the clergy are his aſſiſtants, and the chief governor of the province always preſent on the King's behalf.

Theſe eccleſiaſtical courts are proper for all the clergy; but, if the caſes are of little importance, they are firſt judged by the *præpoſitus* (who is like one of our rural deans) and ſome of the eldeſt miniſters in his diſtrict, which may be called an inferior court; but in both theſe nothing is judged but things of eccleſiaſtical nature.

In Copenhagen there is a conſiſtory, where the *rector magnificus* (choſen every year out of the Profeſſors, and like the Vice-chancellors at Oxford and Cambridge) is Preſident, and moſt of the Profeſſors his aſſiſtants; in this court all things relating to the Univerſity are debated.

As for his politic compariſon of "the trap to kill vermin in "dove-houſes," p. 239; and his nice deſcription of "the headſ-"man and kennel-raker;" I ſhall only tell the Reader that they are falſe, and ſo leave them to our Author's further reflection.

[a] Pontanus, lib. vi. Duck, de Authoritate Juris Civilis.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The State of Religion, of the Clergy and Learning, &c.

WE muſt not expect great accuracy in what he ſays of the Reformation of Denmark, neither as to the time, nor the King that then reigned. For not "only Frederick the Firſt," p. 249, but his ſucceſſor Chriſtian the Second [b], favoured Luther's doctrine; and both he and his Queen, who was ſiſter to Charles V, died in that profeſſion. Frederick, who ſucceeded his nephew, by a public edict, in the year 1524, enjoined that nobody in his kingdoms or provinces, under the forfeiture of life and goods, ſhould do the other any hurt, either Papiſt or Lutheran; but every one ſhould ſo behave himſelf in his religion, as he would anſwer it before God Almighty with a good conſcience: at the ſame time ſeriouſly commanding that the people ſhould be well informed in the doctrine of the Goſpel, that the Romiſh abuſes might be the ſooner extirpated. This he repeated in the diet of Odenſee, A. D. 1527; and more was not done by this King till his death, which happened A. D. 1533, ſaving that he himſelf adhered to the Proteſtant religion, and favoured both that and its preachers wherever he could in his whole dominions. But Popery was tolerated however; nay as yet carried the ſway, by the great oppoſitions and power of the biſhops. This appeared in the diet which was called upon the death of Frederick; in which diet one of the chief Lutheran preachers, Mr. John Tauſſon, had been oppreſſed by the power of the biſhops, if the citizens of Copenhagen, who adhered firmly to the Proteſtant religion, had not reſcued him with force of arms; from whence we ſee, that though Frederick the Firſt brought it in, yet he did not "eſtabliſh ſo generally Luther's "doctrine in his dominions," as we are told by this Author, p. 249.

Afterwards King Chriſtian III, finding great oppoſition from the Popiſh party, with much trouble, and not without effuſion of

[b] Chriſtian II, who was king of Sweden as well as Denmark, was depoſed in 1522. From this period thoſe kingdoms were divided; Guſtavus Ericſon aſcending the throne of Sweden; and Frederick I, that of Denmark. According to Moſheim, the Reformation was received in Sweden, in 1530; in Denmark, in 1521.

blood, having beſieged Copenhagen a whole year, and at laſt forced it to ſurrender by famine, began to *eſtabliſh* the Reformation with vigour: for the ſeven Popiſh biſhops were ſuddenly ſurprized and impriſoned by the King; and, after having been publicly before the diet of the kingdom accuſed and convicted of many enormous crimes, were all depoſed, and ſeven other ſuper-intendants, or Proteſtant biſhops, afterwards conſecrated in their places. The King was crowned by Dr. John Bugenhagen, who had been fellow-labourer with Luther in the work of the Reformation; and, in the year 1539, in the diet of Odenſee, the laſt hand was ſet to the Reformation, and it was wholly and univerſally introduced and ſettled in Denmark as it is at this day.

Now I leave the Reader to judge of the great accuracy of our Author, when he ſays that "Frederick the Firſt eſtabliſhed "Luther's doctrine about 150 years ago," p. 235. Firſt, 150 years ago, Frederick the Firſt had been dead for above nine years; and next, it was his ſon, Chriſtian the Third, who eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant religion, in the year 1539.

There is an union and harmony of religion throughout the whole kingdom; and this, our Author ſays, p. 251, "cuts off "occaſion of rebellion and mutiny." It is very reaſonable it ſhould! and a ſign that the clergy do their duty in preaching ſuch due obedience as the Goſpel enjoins; and the people ſhew their ſenſe of religion in being directed by them: not that "the "prieſts depend entirely upon the crown," as this Author intimates, p. 251, any more than the reſt of the King of Denmark's ſubjects; nor the people "abſolutely governed by the prieſts," ibid. with a blind obedience, any further than ſcripture and reaſon obliges them.

"The clergy have full ſcope given them to be as bigoted as "they pleaſe," ibid. I know not what he means by their being bigoted, unleſs it is, that they are zealous in teaching their people the doctrines of ſalvation, and reſiſting vice and ſcandal in their peculiar churches, as they ought to be. Perhaps this Author would not have them trouble their heads much about religion, nor be zealous for any one in particular; but content themſelves with an idle deſpondency and ſcepticiſm concerning all.

That "the clergy have no common charity for any that differ "from them in opinion, except the church of England," p. 251, is a propoſition very boldly advanced againſt a body of men in whom

whom charity ought always to be conſpicuous; and for a defence againſt this charge, they appeal to thoſe numerous French Proteſtants who have fled to them for relief, to whom at preſent they allow a church for their public worſhip, though there has been no example before ſince the Reformation, and the law is directly againſt it. They confeſs that they cannot join in communion with them, becauſe they differ as to the real preſence in the ſacrament, and in the point of abſolute predeſtination, which they take to be eſſential; for it is the doctrine of reprobation, which has been the greateſt ſtumbling-block between them and the Calviniſts; but the Lutherans, ſeeing the great moderation of the church of England, both in that particular and in the other of the real preſence, have always had a veneration for it, and could be very deſirous that their doctrines, eſpecially that concerning the ſacrament, were but rightly underſtood, ſo as to come to an union with it; for it is a general miſtake in England, to call the notion of the Lutheran Proteſtants concerning the ſacrament "conſubſtantiation," p. 252; for no ſuch word is uſed amongſt them. Their notion amounts to this, that they believe ſtedfaſtly a real and true preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament, in a manner ineffable, which our Saviour himſelf is beſt able both to know and do; whereas "conſubſtan-"tiation" would imply ſomething more natural and material.

"Did Princes think it worth their while to promote this union," our Author "is confident," ibid. "that the buſineſs of *conſub-"ſtantiation* would make no difference." It would be of wonderful conſequence, if Princes ſhould really promote this union between churches ſo conſiderable; and no better work could be performed in this turbulent and divided ſtate of the church of Chriſt: for who knows but this union might draw another of more conſequence after it, between all the reſt who call themſelves Proteſtants, and thoſe more ſtrictly ſo, viz. of the confeſſion of Augſburg, who firſt gave us that name which we ſo much glory in? And what a fatal blow this would be to Popery, any rational man will eaſily imagine.

For the church of Denmark is far from deſerving the character this Author gives it, ibid. "That the Calviniſt is hated by them "as much as the Papiſt; and the reaſon they give is, becauſe he "is againſt abſolute monarchy, and has a reſiſting principle." They will confeſs they do not like his "reſiſting principle;" and

and this makes a greater diſtance between them. However, they think it not agreeable to common charity, to hate either Calviniſt or Papiſt: as to their errors, they think the Papiſts to have ſeveral that are fundamental, and more in number than the Calviniſt, whom they have a reſpect for, as having jointly proteſted againſt the Antichriſt of Rome. The church of Denmark think themſelves likewiſe wronged, when he ſays, p. 253, "that they keep "the mob in awe by confeſſion, which they retain of the Romiſh "church, as well as crucifixes and other ceremonies." For their confeſſion is far from the "auricular confeſſion" and enumeration of all ſins made by the Papiſts: for they retain only that confeſſion uſed in the primitive church, and which other Proteſtants wiſh for: for by that the miniſter can excite and exhort the communicants to a right penitence; and there, as our exhortation to the communion tell us of the church of England, "The penitent "may open his grief to a diſcreet and ſober miniſter of God's "word, that he may receive the benefit of abſolution, together "with ghoſtly counſel and adviſe, to the quieting of his con-"ſcience, and avoiding of all ſcruple and doubtfulneſs." In like manner, the Danes have crucifixes and other hiſtorical pictures out of the Bible in their churches; but they are far from making any idolatrous or ſuperſtitious uſe of them. They uſe them as ornaments and remembrances only; nor do they think, becauſe a Papiſt adores a crucifix, that a Lutheran muſt conſequently be ſo afraid of one as not to endure to look upon it. So likewiſe is it to be underſtood of the other ceremonies which they have kept, not "from the Romiſh church;" but innocent ceremonies, which the Romiſh church have abuſed, they have made a right uſe of, and are here in the ſame caſe with the church of England.

He ſays, "that the ſplendour and revenues of the church of "England are the principal virtues they admire in us," p. 252. The church of England has loſt ſo much of its revenues, as that it is not at preſent to be envied for them. Beſides, I never found Splendour or Revenues recounted as virtues in Ariſtotle's Ethicks. But I have found Prudence, Fortitude, &c. among the virtues; and for theſe the Daniſh church may admire it; but more eſpecially for its purity in doctrine, and its well-ordered government and diſcipline.

It is true that the church of England has better revenues than that of Denmark; for, at the Reformation, the King and ſtates laid

laid almoſt all the eccleſiaſtical revenues to the crown, which at that very time Luther complained of to King Chriſtian the Third. However, the eccleſiaſticks in Denmark are in no low condition; for they live very well, and honourably as any gentlemen can deſire. Every miniſter lives in his pariſh, and has one, two, three, or more neighbouring churches under his care; which if he cannot take care of alone, he does it by one or more aſſiſtants, called *chaplains*, which reſemble our Engliſh deacons. He tells us, p. 251, "that the clergy are entirely dependant upon the crown," as if their ſalary was wholly given them by the King. But afterwards it ſeems, p. 252 and 253, "the beſt ſubſiſtence of the "prieſts is the voluntary benevolence of the mob." So that their "flattery of the court," p. 252, ought, if this were true, to be turned into a "flattery of the mob," whoſe "vices," notwithſtanding, "as well as thoſe of perſons of the higheſt quality, "they reprehend with great freedom," ibid.: and yet their "churches are much frequented," p. 91. As to the ſubſiſtence of the miniſters in Denmark, it is partly certain, as tithes, &c. as in England; partly uncertain, as offerings at the three great feſtivals in the year; marriages, burials, &c.: and they are very liberally provided for, without "cultivating the mob's good "opinion," p. 253.

As the inferior clergy are thus provided for, ſo are the ſuperior, ſuch as the Biſhops, Profeſſors of Divinity, &c. to a greater degree. Concerning theſe he tells us, p. 153, "that there are ſix "Super-intendants in Denmark, who take it very kindly to be "called Biſhops, and My Lord; viz. one in Sealand, one in "Funen, four in Jutland; and four in Norway. Theſe have "no temporalties, keep no eccleſiaſtical courts, have no cathedrals "with prebends, &c. but are only *primi inter pares*; having the "rank above the inferior clergy of the province." 1. When he enumerated the Biſhops, he might have mentioned thoſe two more who were in Iſland. 2. That the Daniſh Biſhops ſhould take it kindly to be called "My Lord," is a very curious remark. They have not ſo often occaſion to converſe with Engliſhmen; and the Daniſh tongue has no word that properly anſwers to the Engliſh words "My Lord." Then they have no reaſon to refuſe being called Biſhops; ſince the King calls them ſo in the Daniſh law, and they have all epiſcopal juriſdiction. It is true that in Denmark, at the Reformation, none of the Popiſh Biſhops (as many

in

in Sweden did) would embrace it; but all, becauſe of their errors, were depoſed; and then the new ſuper-intendants, according to Luther's inſtitution in Germany, were ordained by Dr. Bugenhagen, from Wittenberg. And they did, as their ſucceſſors at preſent do, uſe and exerciſe in eccleſiaſtical things the ſame power and juriſdiction that any Biſhop does in England or Sweden. 3. If by temporalties he means baronies, the Daniſh Biſhops have none of them. But that they have eccleſiaſtical courts, is certain; and an account has before been given of them. 4. Though canons, prebends, and ſubdeans, are not as in England; yet in each cathedral church (for ſuch there is in every dioceſe) the Biſhop has four, five, or more, of the chief clergy for his aſſiſtants in the chapter; and they are called *canonici*, or *capitulares*. 5. In honour, the Biſhops may be only *primi inter pares*; but in juriſdiction there is a very great ſubordination, ſo far as to ſuſpend and depoſe, which ſets them far beyond an equality. 6. That "moſt of theſe underſtand Engliſh, and draw the very beſt of "their Divinity out of Engliſh Books; and thoſe who have "ſtudied in Oxford are more valued than others," p. 254, are expreſſions that ſavour a little of vanity. They do indeed eſteem our Divines, and eſpecially their Sermons; but the way to be reſpected more by them is not to value ourſelves too much.

As to "their learning," he ſays, "at preſent it is there at a "very low ebb." But, to ſhew the contrary, I ſhall name ſome of thoſe great men in all ſciences, which have been eminent for their learning, and name ſome of thoſe who preſerve the ſucceſſion.

In Divinity, who in the learned world does not know Hemmingius, Reſenius both father and ſon, Brochmand, Winſtrup, Swaningius, Wandalinus the elder, Bagerus, Noldius, Bircherodius, &c. In Phyſick, who are more famous than Thomas Bartholinus, Joh. Rhodius ſo renowned in Italy, Nic. Stenonius the great Anatomiſt, Simon Paulli no leſs an Herbaliſt, Olaus and Wilhelmus Wormius, and Borrichius, who was excellent for his Chemiſtry? In the Law, there have been eminent men, as Petrus Reſenius, Coſmus Bornemand, Claudius Plumius, &c. As to the Mathematicks, Tycho Brahe[c] was followed very ſucceſsfully by his ſcholar Longomontanus and Geo. Hilarius, &c.

[c] This celebrated aſtronomer (deſcended of an illuſtrous family originally of Sweden, but ſettled in Denmark) was born Dec. 14, 1546, at Knudſtorp, near Helſimbourg. He died Oct. 24, 1601.

In

In Philoſophy and Philology, few have excelled the great Borrichius [d]; and beſides him, Bartholus Bartholinus, Arnoldus Rhumannus, and others. Nor does Denmark want Hiſtorians, as Wormius, Petrus Reſenius, Virtus Beringius, Claudius Lyſcander, and the lately deceaſed young gentleman Thomas Bartholinus. As for Poetry, it began in the Daniſh language with the proverbial rhimes of Lollius, and the ſatires of Scanus, and the eclogues of Virgil, turned into the Daniſh language by Petrus Parvus Ripenſis, and by the tranſlation of the Pſalms of Du Bartas by Chriſtianus Arreboe: but its perfection increaſed with the rules given by Corvinus in his "Heptachordum" and his "Rythmo-"logia Danica," by Severinus Pauli Gothlandus in his "Pro-"ſodia Vernacula," and ſeveral other Authors. Severinus Torchillius, with the beauty and ſweetneſs of his ſtyle, advanced this improvement; whereas Bording did the ſame by his ſtrength and majeſty, and Johannes Wilhelmus as much with his "Hexameron," in which there appeared a decent and becoming gravity. Theſe were followed by Kingo, Seheſted, Matthias Wormius, Andreas Claudianus, Lundius, Gernerus, and others, whoſe works may promiſe them fame and immortality. The ladies come in likewiſe for their ſhare in this glory. Tycho Brahe's ſiſter, and eſpecially Dorothea Engelcrechtia, may contend with the famous Poetreſſes of the ancients. The Lady Brigitta Tot has tranſlated Seneca the Philoſopher into the Daniſh tongue, with all the elegance any language is capable of; to ſhew that the ruggedeſt philoſophy of the Stoicks muſt ſubmit, when the fair ſex is pleaſed to conquer. It would be too tedious to enumerate all the Daniſh poets who have written, from Hiarne and Saxo Grammaticus, down to this time. Borrichius has done it, and given their characters in a very pretty diſſertation; and Fredericus Roſtgaard, an ingenious young gentleman, has made a collection of ſix of them, printed in two duodecimo volumes in Leyden, in 1693. Albertus, Hopnerus, and Aagardus, have their beauties: but Vitus Beringius has a peculiar eaſineſs; and his maſque of "The Rape of "the Sabines," written in ſeveral ſorts of Latin verſe, has much variety,

[d] One of the moſt learned men of his age. He was the ſon of a Lutheran miniſter, and was born April 27, 1626. At the univerſity of Copenhagen, he applied himſelf to various ſtudies, but particularly to phyſick; and was appointed profeſſor of poetry, chemiſtry, and botany. From November

variety, and muſt have given great diverſion in the repreſentation of it. Harderus, at writing epigrams, has a great quickneſs of wit; and the Engliſh, among whom he lived ſome years, are particularly obliged to him for his ingenious verſes made in commendation of their language. As for Borrichius, it is enough to ſay, that his poetry equals his other performances.

There are ſtill living and flouriſhing in Denmark Wandalinus the ſon, Maſius, Caſpar Bartholinus, Oligerus and Janus Jacobæus, Olaus Romerus, Paul Vindingius, John Brunſmannus, and many others; who deſerve no leſs praiſe than the deceaſed, if their modeſty would permit it to be given them.

Their learning is preſerved and cultivated among them, by their public examinations, diſputations, and lectures in all arts and ſciences; and their want of printed tranſlations ſhews their very great improvement: for the Danes, generally underſtanding Latin, Engliſh, French, Italian, and German languages, have no occaſion for them; and yet in the public library there are abundance of tranſlations of all ſorts, of both ancient and modern authors. Printing is indeed much dearer than in Holland and Germany, which is the reaſon why the "Atlas Danicus" of Petrus Reſenius lies fairly written in the library; the nobility and gentry have likewiſe their libraries in very good order; and there is nothing that I can find wanting, but ſatirical pamphlets and ſeditious libels.

The Author ſays, "there is no invention here, or tolerable "imitation of what is brought in to them by ſtrangers," p. 255. But I cannot believe it, when I hear that Thomas Bartholinus[c] has

November 1660, to October 1666, he ſpent entirely on his travels, through Germany, Holland, England, France, and Italy; and contracted an intimacy with the moſt eminent men in each kingdom. On his return to Denmark, he reſumed his profeſſorſhip; was made a counſellor in the ſupreme council of juſtice in 1686, and of the royal chancery in 1689. He died Oct. 3, 1690.

[c] Born at Copenhagen, Oct. 20, 1616; he died Dec. 4, 1680.—His father (named Caſpar) was eminently diſtinguiſhed both as a phyſician and a divine. He was born Feb. 12, 1585, and was remarkable for his early capacity. In his thirteenth year, he compoſed Greek and Latin orations, and pronounced them publicly. He was offered the profeſſorſhip of anatomy at Naples, and of Greek at Sedan; but refuſed both. He took his doctor's degree in phyſick at Padua in 1618. On his return to Copen-

has found the *vaſa lymphatica*; as his ſon Caſpar, ſtill living, has done one *ductus ſalivalis*; and Borrichius found ſeveral new ways in chemiſtry. The round ſteeple of Longomontanus is a great piece of ingenuity and architecture, as likewiſe the Bremer Holm, and the great work on Chriſtian's-haven. We have ſeveral ornaments of the city of London carved by a Daniſh maſter[f]. And whoſoever will not believe their ſkill in muſick may be convinced of the contrary by the harp of Signor Arnoldo.

But what need I ſpeak farther of the Danes? The very Iſlanders, whoſe country was the Thule of the ancients, are not without their learning. Their Law-book in their own language has ſeveral things conformable to the great wiſdom of the Imperial laws, as Angrimus tells us. "Konunga Sagurne" contains their Hiſtory. "Edda and Scalda" gives an account of their ancient philoſophy and poetry, ſhews the art and fable of the one, and the miſery of the other. They have likewiſe chronology from 740 to 1295. Nor are they wanting in the more refined arts of

Copenhagen, he was appointed profeſſor of the Latin tongue, and in 1613 profeſſor of medicine; which having held eleven years, he was ſeized with a ſevere fit of illneſs; in which he vowed, if he ſhould recover, to apply himſelf to no other ſtudy than divinity; and he kept his promiſe. He was appointed profeſſor of divinity, March 12, 1624; and had the canonry of Roſchild. He died July 13, 1629.

[f] This was Caius Gabriel Cibber, a native of Holſtein, who came into England ſome time before the Reſtoration. He was the ſon of a cabinet-maker to the King of Denmark, and was born at Henſbury in the year 1630. Diſcovering a talent for ſculpture, he was ſent to Rome at his Sovereign's expence. After his arrival in England, he worked for John Stone. He had the appointment of carver to the King's cloſet; and died in the year 1700, near the age of 70, leaving amongſt other children the late Poet Laureat Colley Cibber. The moſt capital of his Works are the two figures of raving and melancholy Madneſs, before the front of Bedlam. The *bas reliefs* on two ſides of the Monument are of his hand, as is one of the two fine vaſes at Hampton Court, ſaid to be done in competition with a foreigner who executed the other; but nobody has pointed out Cibber's. He alſo carved moſt of the ſtatues of the Kings round the Royal Exchange, and that of Sir Thomas Greſham in the Piazza beneath. The firſt Duke of Devonſhire employed him much at Chatſworth, where a great many of his performances are to be ſeen. He alſo built the Daniſh Church in London; and was buried there himſelf, with his ſecond wife, for whom a monument was erected in 1696.

poetry and comedy, as may appear by the "Drama Eroticon;" and the verſes made in the Iſlandiſh tongue, and about the beginning of this century, upon Chriſtian Friis the chancellor of Denmark. Runolphus Jonas, having ſtudied the Iſlandiſh language, found it ſo full, proper, and expreſſive of the Latin, eſpecially the thoughts and beauties of Virgil and Horace, that he thought himſelf bound in juſtice to compoſe a Grammar for the more eaſy attaining of it; which he printed, and has been ſince re-printed at Oxford with Dr. Hickes's Saxon Grammar. But to go yet farther: even Greenland has its annals; and the parts which are fartheſt North are not without ſome pretenſions to the *Belles Lettres.*

When he comes to the Univerſity of Copenhagen, he compares it, p. 253, with theſe of England; which may exceed it. However, in reſpect of other foreign Univerſities, it yields to few, either for its buildings, revenues, or ſtudents. The auditories, colleges, and other edifices, belonging to this univerſity, are as good and ſubſtantial as any houſes, except the palaces, in Copenhagen; and the profeſſors have fine and convenient houſes allotted for their reſidence. The revenues likewiſe are conſiderable, both for the maintaining of ſcholars that ſtudy at home, or travel abroad. There are ſeveral colleges, as that called Collegium Regium built by King Chriſtian IV, where a hundred ſtudents have their lodgings, to which belongs another houſe, called Communitas Regia, where as many have their diet, and during their meals have frequent exerciſes.

There is alſo Collegium Walkendorphianum, founded by a Daniſh nobleman; and Collegium Medicæum, founded by Dr. Borrichius; ſplendidly endowed for ſixteen fellows in each of them. There are ſeveral exhibitions likewiſe for ſcholars, ſome to reſide and ſome to travel, which they call *Stipendia,* as *Stipendium Friſianum, Scheelianum, Winſtrupianum, Hopnerianum,* &c.

With theſe aſſiſtances, the Univerſity flouriſhes; and it receives encouragement from his Majeſty, who was particularly pleaſed to be preſent at an act performed upon his birth-day, in the year 1691, when the Rector Dr. Oligerus Jacobæus made him a ſpeech, to thank him for ſome favours conferred upon the Univerſity. For, ſince Pliny and Pacatus's time, panegyricks have been thought due to good Princes; and if a King will do great things, he muſt

pardon

pardon his ſubjects when gratitude makes them eloquent in the relation of them.

There was formerly another Univerſity, at Sora; but, p. 256, "the King had occaſion for its revenues; and in its ſtead there is "only a ſmall Grammar-ſchool erected." It was ruined by the Swedes in the late wars, and pillaged of its libraries and all things elſe that belonged to it; ſo that the King of Denmark has thought fit to let it be a ſchool only, and in its room has erected an academy in Copenhagen, where young gentlemen and perſons of quality learn riding and ſeveral exerciſes, as well as other ſciences. This has its profeſſors, and was ſolemnly inaugurated upon the King's birth-day in 1692.

The proviſions for the poor are regular and conſiderable. Hoſpitals there are in every city, very good and ſufficient: not ſhall he ſhew many examples of ſuch as have been diverted to other uſes, p. 257; and eſpecially "not public ones."

The Author concludes this Chapter with a very great encomium of the Daniſh people, p. 257; "where every one keeps "the ordinary beaten road of ſenſe; and you ſee no madmen, "natural fools, fanciful folks, or enthuſiaſts;" for theſe are the people that generally create uneaſineſs and diſturbances. And I will aſſure the Author, that, ever ſince I firſt read his Book, when I have been troubled with "a fanciful fool" that I could not in good manners get rid of, I have often wiſhed myſelf in Denmark.

THE CONCLUSION.

THE Author's concluſion is a panegyrick upon Popery, France, and Turkey.

Popery has this to ſay for itſelf, "That it is not the only re-"ligion that introduces ſlavery; for he is perſuaded that other "religions, and particularly the Lutheran, ſucceed as effectually "in this deſign," p. 258. Beſides, Popery has a farther plea, "That King James's attempt to bring it into England was the "principal thing which reſcued our liberties from being ſwal-"lowed up," p. 259. But the third thing excellent in it is, "becauſe the dependance which the Romiſh clergy have on the "church of Rome cauſes often a claſhing of intereſts, and dero-"gates from the entire obedience the ſubject owes to the prince," p. 260.

p. 260. So that whereas he ſays, p. 136, "Popery has been the "darling of many monarchs, upon the account of introducing "ſlavery;" it is this Author's darling, becauſe it raiſes "wars "and tumults."

France is put next into the ſcale with Denmark, and made to outweigh it, "becauſe that King's ſubjects are better treated; "and there is a *Name* of a parliament at Paris, and a formal "demand of a benevolence, which they have not the power to "deny," p. 261. But the true reaſon is, "becauſe, the King of "France having quarreled with the court of Rome, *his* clergy "(if he were reduced to a lower ebb) might produce diviſions "and diſturbances." So, in this Author's opinion, France is happier than Denmark, becauſe there is greater probability that it may lie under the misfortunes of a civil war.

Then comes Turkey; which has ſuffered by ſome writers, but, he ſays, will ſcarce ſeem to deſerve it, if compared with Denmark; "for the Turks have conquered the Chriſtians, and have a ſort "of barbarous right to uſe them ill: yet they never perſecute "them upon account of conſcience. They ſuffer them for the "moſt part to inhabit their own lands; it is true, the propriety "of all lands is in the Grand Seignior; but whether it be not "better to be only a farmer at an eaſy rent, than to have the name "of a proprietor without a comfortable ſubſiſtence, he leaves the "Reader to judge," p. 262. The Alcoran, or Turkiſh law, declares the barbarous right which our Author mentions, in theſe words: "When you meet with infidels, cut off their heads, kill "them, take them priſoners, bind them, till either you think "fit to give them liberty, or they pay their ranſom." Sir Paul Rycaut is an Author of credit, who deſcribes to us that ſort of toleration which the Turks give the Chriſtian religion: "They "know they cannot force mens wills and conſciences, nor cap-"tivate their minds as well as bodies: but what means may be "uſed to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their "lives uncomfortable, and the intereſt of their religion weak and "deſpicable, are practiſed with divers arts and tyranny; their "toleration of Chriſtianity is rather to afflict and perſecute it, "than any grant of favour and diſpenſation." The Grand Seignior may take their eſtates from them if he pleaſes whilſt they live; and all people know there is no ſuch thing as inheritance of land in Turkey at their death. Let therefore the Reader judge,

judge, what Chriſtian would not rather live in Turkey, than enjoy the free uſe of the Proteſtant Religion, and have his property ſecured inviolably to himſelf and heirs, as he may do in Denmark?

"Children are indeed in Turkey forced away from their poor "Chriſtian parents;" but, ſays the Author, "it is for their "worldly profit: and ſo, bating the point of religion, it is a far "leſs miſchief to deprive parents of their children, than to leave "a charge upon their hands after having taken away the poſ-"ſibility of nouriſhing and educating them," p. 263. I profeſs, upon reading this paragraph, I enquired how many children were ſtarved every week in Copenhagen; and whether there were not greater quantities that died for want throughout all Sealand. I aſked whether there were not abundance of famiſhed infants, that their parents would be glad to part with for ſkeletons upon reaſonable terms. But, being reſolved, that there was pap and milk-porridge, and the like, in thoſe places; and that the children, when they cried, had as much bread and butter as is uſual in other countries; I reſolved with myſelf, that my children ſhould rather go to Denmark, with all its inconveniences, than be circumciſed or made eunuchs, upon the hopes of coming one day to be *caimacan*, or grand viſir. I wonder moſt how our Author ever came to like Turkey; ſince I do not find that he has any hopes or aſſurances from the mufti, that any rebellion ſhall be raiſed there ſpeedily.

Come we now to the grand query, "Whether matters are like "to laſt at the ſame rate they are now at in Denmark?" p. 264. Our Author would willingly have it reſolved in the negative; and gives important reaſons why it ſhould be ſo: and more important why it ſhould not be ſo. Let us ſee his ſelf-encounter at *pro* and *con*, and the mighty tumults and buſtles raiſed in our Author's "fallacious judgement," p. 264.

Firſt, "That natural love of liberty, eminent in the antient "Goths and Vandals, perſuade him to think of a change," ib. But, alas! the love of liberty (which was that of knight-errantry and rambling to ſeek their fortunes in foreign countries) being now quite extinct in the North, they find ſufficient conveniences at home, where obedience to their prince ſecures their eaſe, and is preferred by them before "thoſe briſk traverſes" (as he calls them) which "commotions would occaſion," p. 267. So love of liberty might do ſomething, but that duty prevails. Well,

but again, " may not the freſhneſs and newneſs of this alteration " of their condition produce an alteration in the government?" p. 265. Why, truly no; becauſe he finds it to have little or no influence upon the people, who are wonderfully well pleaſed both with one and the other. So that, if the father ſhould propoſe any methods of change to his ſon, " he would not be heard " by him with patience," p. 268. But, however, to try again: " What ſhould hinder the Swedes, who have their eye upon " Denmark, from introducing liberty?" p. 266. Why truly, " they uſe their own ſubjects ſo ill, and there is ſuch a fixt " hatred betwixt theſe two nations, that the Danes are reſolved to " keep them out as long as they are able," p. 268. The laſt hope then is " in the numerouſneſs of the royal family; for, there " being four princes, it will be rare if concord be maintained " among them all," p. 266. And thence ſomething in favour of liberty might ariſe. It is a thouſand pities that matters ſhould not be brought to this paſs: but ſuch is the wickedneſs of this curſed ſoil, " that thoſe jealouſies which uſe to reign in the fami- " lies of princes are not ſo common nor fatal in theſe parts as " elſewhere," p. 270. Beſides, there is a terrible thing, called " Unity of Religion," p. 268, which ſpoils all manner of hopes, and " cuts away the very root of ſedition." So then the ſum of the grand controverſy amounts to this, That the government of Denmark might be ſhaken, were it not ſupported by a firm ſecurity from foreign attempts; by a mutual concord in the royal family; by the eaſe, content, loyalty, and religion of the ſubject; in a word, by all the bleſſings and cements which make governments " happy," and conſequently will render this of Denmark " fixt and durable." Since nothing hitherto will do the work; what if this Author could get his " Account" tranſlated into the Daniſh tongue? Might not that, when publiſhed, have " ſo " bleſſed an effect," as to occaſion a change, not only " in their " condition, but alſo in their maſters?" Why, truly, whatever his aim may have been nearer home, and though it has been printed in Engliſh, yet he has not perſuaded his countrymen to endeavour an alteration in either of theirs. So that, if the preſent ſtate of both kingdoms be *fixt* and *durable*, then his Book (poor Gentleman!) has loſt its deſign, and he his labour!

DIALOGUES

DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD,

RELATING TO

The preſent CONTROVERSY

CONCERNING

The Epiſtles of PHALARIS:

To which are prefixed,

A Short ACCOUNT of that famous CONTROVERSY;

And Two LETTERS from Dr. KING
to the Honourable CHARLES BOYLE.

To which is alſo annexed,

ANOTHER DIALOGUE OF THE DEAD,
of an earlier Date, and on a different Subject.

The "Dialogues of the Dead, &c." were written in ſelf-defence; and, I preſume, with modeſty.

Dr. King's Preface to his Miſcellanies.

" Nec procul hinc partem fuſi monſtrantur in omnem
" Lugentes campi; ſic illos nomine dicunt.
" Hìc, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,
" Secreti celant calles, et myrtea circùm
" Sylva tegit. Curæ non ipſâ in morte relinquunt."
VIRGIL, Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 440.

Not far from thence, the Mournful Fields appear,
So call'd from lovers that inhabit there.
The ſouls, whom that unhappy flame invades,
In ſecret ſolitude and myrtle ſhades,
Make endleſs moans, and, pining with deſire,
Lament too late their unextinguiſh'd fire. DRYDEN'S Tranſ.

" Hìc genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles,
" Magnanimi heroës, nati melioribus annis,
" Ilúſque, Aſſaracúſque, et Trojæ Dardanus auctor.
" Arma procul, currúſque virûm miratur inanes.
" Stant terrâ defixæ haſtæ, paſsímque ſoluti
" Per campum paſcuntur equi. Quæ gratia currûm
" Armorúmque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
" Paſcere equos, eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos." Ibid. ver. 648.

Here found they Teucer's old heroic race;
Born better times and happier years to grace.
Aſſaracus and Ilus here enjoy
Perpetual fame, with him who founded Troy.
The chief beheld their chariots from afar;
Their ſhining arms and courſers train'd to war.
Their launces fix'd in earth, their ſteeds around,
Free from their harneſs, graze the flowery ground.
The love of horſes which they had alive,
And care of chariots after death ſurvive. DRYDEN.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY ON PHALARIS.

ON the death of Mr. Juſtel, Dr. Richard Bentley[e] was nominated keeper of the Royal Library at St. James's: his warrant for that place paſſed the Secretary's office Dec. 23, 1693; and he had his patent in April 1694. It was about this time, and upon this occaſion, that the famous diſpute between him and the honourable Mr. Boyle, whether the Epiſtles of Phalaris were genuine or not, in ſome meaſure, at firſt took riſe; which occaſioned ſo many books and pamphlets, and made ſo much noiſe in the world. It may be of uſe, therefore, to give an account of the motives and riſe of this diſpute.

The zeal of Dr. Aldrich[f], dean of Chriſt Church, in adviſing the young ſtudents to publiſh editions of the claſſics, is well known; a zeal, which, however it may have been cenſured, was undoubtedly on many accounts commendable, and was of ſome uſe and credit to the young editors. Amongſt other publications, he deſired Mr. Boyle[g] to put out a new edition of Phalaris[h], who readily ſet about it; but, wanting to conſult a Mſ. Phalaris in the King's Library, ſent to Mr. Bennet, Bookſeller in London, to get him the Mſ. by applying for it to Dr. Bentley in his name. After earneſt ſolicitation, and great delays[i], for many months, Mr. Bennet at laſt got poſſeſſion of the Mſ.; who, imagining there was no great hurry to return it, did not immediately ſet the Collator [Mr. Gibſon] to work upon it. But Dr. Bentley being to go a journey into Worceſterſhire at that time for ſix months; about ſix days after the Mſ. had been

[e] See ſome particulars of Dr. Bentley, vol. III. p. 297.

[f] Of whom, ſee vol. III. p. 297.

[g] This young nobleman had already publiſhed "The Life of Lyſander," from the Greek of Plutarch. See more of him, vol. III. p. 297.

[h] See Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 2.

[i] In the Epiſtles of Phalaris examined, the Doctor aſſerts, he had it in a month after he was Library-keeper; and that it was offered voluntarily, p. xviii. alſo p. 66: and ſays, he informed him how ſoon he ſhould want it; p. xxi. and 66.

delivered, he called for it again, and would by no means be prevailed upon to let Mr. Bennet have the uſe of it any longer, though he told him the collation was not perfected [k]; and denied his requeſt in a very rude manner [l], throwing out many ſlighting and diſparaging expreſſions, both of Mr. Boyle and the work.

This is the caſe as told by Mr. Bennet, Dr. King, Mr. Boyle, &c. who, thinking himſelf ill uſed, toward the end of his Preface, where he is giving ſome account of the edition of Phalaris, and the Mſſ. conſulted in it, added the following words: *Collatas etiam (vid. Epiſtolas) curavi uſque ad Epiſt.* XL. *cum manuſcripto in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro ſingulari ſuâ humanitate negavit.* "I likewiſe "gave orders," ſays he, "to have the Epiſtles collated with the "Mſ. in the King's Library; but my Collator was prevented from "going beyond the Fortieth Epiſtle by *the ſingular humanity* of the "Library-keeper, who refuſed to let me have any further uſe of "the Mſ. [m]." The Epiſtles being publiſhed, Dr. Bentley ſends a letter (as he ſays) the very day that he ſaw Mr. Boyle's new Phalaris in the hands of a perſon of honour to whom it had been preſented, while the reſt of the impreſſion was not yet publiſhed, to Mr. Boyle at Oxford, to give him a true information of the whole matter; wherein, as Mr. Boyle acknowledges [n], having expreſſed himſelf with great civility, he repreſented the matter of fact quite otherwiſe than he had heard it; expecting that, upon the receipt of the letter, he would put a ſtop to the publication of the book, till he had altered that paſſage, and printed the page anew; which might have been done in one day, at the expence of five ſhillings. He ſays, he did not expreſsly deſire Mr. Boyle to take out that paſſage, and re-print the whole leaf; thinking that was too low a ſubmiſſion. To which letter, Mr. Boyle ſays, he immediately returned a civil anſwer, to this effect: "That Mr. Bennet, whom he had employed to wait upon the Doctor in his name, gave him ſuch an account of his reception, that he had reaſon to apprehend himſelf affronted; and ſince he could make

[k] The Doctor denies ever hearing the collation was not perfected; affirming, that the whole Mſ. would not take up above four hours collating, p. xxvi.

[l] Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 3.

[m] In the Preface to Mr. Boyle's edition of Phalaris.

[n] Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 4.

no

no other excuſe to the Reader for not collating the King's Mſ. but becauſe it was denied him, he thought he could do no leſs than expreſs ſome reſentment for that denial; that he ſhould be very much concerned if Mr. Bennet had dealt ſo with him as to miſlead him in his account; and, if that appeared, ſhould be ready to take ſome opportunity of begging his pardon; expreſſing himſelf (Mr. Boyle ſays) in ſuch a manner, that the Doctor might underſtand he meant to give him ſatisfaction as publicly as he had injured him."

Here the matter reſted for two years and a half after the edition of Phalaris; when Dr. Bentley, in an Appendix to Mr. Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, inſerted his Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Epiſtles of Æſop; aſſerting that the Epiſtles which had been aſcribed to Phalaris for ſo many years paſt were ſpurious, and the production of ſome Sophiſt; and, partly in anger for the ſting in Mr. Boyle's Preface to them, falls foul with ſome warmth on Mr. Boyle's new edition and verſion; ſaying, he had fooliſhly buſied himſelf about a contemptible and ſpurious author, and had made a bad book worſe by a very ill edition of it, &c. &c. [o]; and, in part of the book, juſtifies himſelf as to the affair of the Mſ. in theſe words: "A Bookſeller came to me, in the name of the EDITORS, to beg the uſe of the manuſcript: it was not then in my cuſtody; but, as ſoon as I had the power of it, I went voluntarily and offered it him; bidding him tell the Collator not to loſe any time, for I was ſhortly to go out of town for two months. It was delivered, uſed, and returned. Not a word was ſaid by the bearer; nor the leaſt ſupicion in me that they had not finiſhed the collaton [p]."

Thus Dr. Bentley puts the affair in a quite different light by his aſſertions; which are replied to, and that reply again anſwered, and ſo on, till the whole is ſo perplexed and confounded, that there is no judging of, or coming at, the truth and reality of the affair [q]. We may however adjuſt theſe accounts, and bring their differerences ſomewhat nearer to a balance, by conſidering

[o] Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, *ſparſim.*

[p] Ibid. p. 68.

[q] The matter, being confounded with many flat contradictions, may properly be reduced to this ſhort queſtion, "*Uvi creditis, Quirites?* Dr. Bentley, or Mr. Bennet?"

the

the diſtance of time, viz. full three years from the beginning of this tranſaction to the end of the controverſy, and the partiality with which each muſt naturally recall to remembrance his own words, actions, and behaviour. As to the real affair, viz. the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles of Phalaris, it is of too great length to interfere in at preſent: we ſhall only add, that the Doctor is not now imagined (whatever he might then be out of partiality to a ſhining young Nobleman) to have the worſt of the argument, or to have handled it without ſome merit and applauſe as to wit and humour; though Mr. Boyle only, as the humour and caprice of the age then ran, received congratulations on this occaſion. Thus Dr. Garth [r],

"So diamonds take a luſtre from their foil,
"And to a BENTLEY 'tis we owe a BOYLE."

Another very learned and very judicious writer, Dr. Henry Felton, ſaid a very juſt and a very handſome thing upon this diſpute [s]: "Perhaps Mr. Boyle's book will be charged upon ſome Sophiſt too: yet, taking it for genuine at preſent, if we muſt own Dr. Bentley is the *better critick*, we muſt acknowledge his antagoniſt is much the *genteeler writer*."

The Doctor had alſo ſome wags who were his enemies *even* at Cambridge, by drawing his picture in the hands of Phalaris's guards, who were putting him into their maſter's bull; and out of the Doctor's mouth came a label with theſe words, "I had rather be ROASTED than BOYLED." The inimitable Dean of St. Patrick's alſo, in his Tale of a Tub, has ſome ſtrokes on Dr. Bentley on this occaſion, particularly in the epiſode on the Battle of the Books, where, on account of the Doctor's Diſſertation on Phalaris, &c. being annexed to Mr. Wotton's Reflections on Learning, and their being great friends, he makes Mr. Wotton and Dr. Bentley ſtanding ſide by ſide, in each other's defence, to be both transfixed to the ground by one ſtroke of the javelin of Mr. Boyle; and this he heightens by the ſimile of a Cook's ſpitting a brace of woodcocks.

The Reader will not be diſpleaſed at a liſt of the books publiſhed in this debate, in the order in which they appeared.

[r] In The Diſpenſary.

[s] Diſſertation on reading the Claſſicks, and forming a juſt Style.

About

About 1694, Mr. Boyle publiſhed his very fine edition of "Phalaris," with the Greek text, tranſlated in a nervous and claſſical Latin ſtyle.

About two years and a half after this, in 1697, Dr. Bentley publiſhed his "Diſſertation upon the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, "Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop," at the end of the ſecond edition of Mr. Wotton's "Reflections on An-"cient and Modern Learning;" but in the third edition, in 1705, the Diſſertation on Phalaris, being of conſiderable bulk, is omitted; becauſe afterwards printed by Dr. Bentley entire, and annexed with great additions to his further defence of it, in anſwer to Mr. Boyle: but what concerned the Epiſtles of Themiſtocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æſop, being printed no where elſe, is re-printed in that and the other editions of Mr. Wotton's book.

A letter of Dr. King's, on this ſubject, Oct. 13, 1697, is inſerted at the end of this account [t].

In 1698 came out, "Dr. Bentley's Diſſertations on the Epiſtles "of Phalaris and the Fables of Æſop examined, by the Honourable "Charles Boyle, Eſq;" a work more commonly known by the title of "Boyle againſt Bentley." The publication of this book was hindered by Mr. Boyle's buſineſs, which ſent him into, and detained him in, Ireland; elſe he had anſwered Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation ſooner [u]. A third edition of this book was publiſhed "with ſome additions," ſo early as 1699; and a fourth in 1742.

In 1699, followed Dr. Bentley's anſwer to the above, commonly known by the name of "Bentley againſt Boyle;" a curious piece, interſperſed with a great deal of true wit and humour. This is the volume to which Dr. King alludes, in his *ſecond* Letter to Mr. Boyle [w]. It is at preſent a ſcarce book; and we can aſſure the curious, who have for ſome time expected it would be re-printed, that a new edition of it with ſome improvements will ſoon be publiſhed: which will be followed, it is hoped, with the other pieces on this ſubject; the principal of which, beſide thoſe already mentioned, are the three following:

"Dialogues of the Dead, relating to the preſent Controverſy "concerning the Epiſtles of Phalaris. By the Author of the

[t] Printed in p. 141.
[u] As he tells us in the Preface.
[w] Printed in p. 142.
[x] Printed in p. 144, & ſeqq.

"Journey

" Journey to London [x]." Theſe Dialogues abound with that grave banter, for which Dr. King is ſo peculiarly celebrated.

" A ſhort Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Juſtice to " thoſe Authors who have written before him; with an honeſt " Vindication of Thomas Stanley, Eſq; and his Notes on Calli- " machus. To which are added ſome other Obſervations on that " Poet [y]; in a Letter to the Honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; " with a Poſtſcript, in relation to Dr. Bentley's late Book againſt " him. To which is added, an Appendix, by the Bookſeller; " wherein the Doctor's Miſrepreſentations of all the Matters of " Fact, wherein he is concerned, in his late Book about Phalaris's " Epiſtles, are modeſtly conſidered; with a Letter from the Ho- " nourable Charles Boyle on that Subject, 1699," 8vo. [There is ſome reaſon to think this alſo is the production of Dr. King; though we have not proof enough to admit it in this collection.]

The laſt tract we ſhall mention is, " A ſhort Review of the " Controverſy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley, with ſuitable " Reflections upon it; and the Doctor's advantageous Character " of himſelf at full length." 1701. 8vo.

[y] An accurate edition of Callimachus was publiſhed, in 1697, by the learned Grævius, to whom Dr. Bentley ſent over his animadverſions and remarks, great part of which he is charged (Short Account, &c. p. 29.) with having ſtolen from Mſ. remarks of the learned Mr. Stanley, which were lent him by Sir Edward Sherburn. How this matter ſtands we ſhall not pretend to ſay; but, in juſtice to this eminent critick, muſt obſerve, what that very author was obliged in honour to yield as his undoubted right: " It ought to be acknowledged that Dr. Bentley has made SOME additions to Mr. Stanley's collections;"—" it ought to be confeſſed that Dr. Bentley has made SOME additions of his own to what was collected to his hands ſo readily;" beſides a number of obſervations which are granted as his own.—The learned of other nations have paid the Doctor many handſome compliments on this occaſion.

FIRST LETTER TO MR. BOYLE[z].

SIR,

I AM bound in juſtice to anſwer your requeſt, by endeavouring, as far as I can, to recollect what paſſed between Mr. Bennet and Dr. Bentley, concerning a Mſ. of the Epiſtles of Phalaris. I cannot be certain as to any other particulars than that, among other things, the Dr. ſaid, "that if the Mſ. were "collated, it would be worth nothing for the future." Which I took the more notice of, becauſe I thought a Mſ. good for nothing unleſs it were collated. The whole diſcourſe was managed with ſuch inſolence, that, after he was gone, I told Mr. Bennet, "that he ought to ſend Mr. Boyle word of it; that, "for my own part (I ſaid then what I think ſtill), I did not "believe that the various readings of any book were ſo much "worth, as that a perſon of Mr. Boyle's honour and learning "ſhould be uſed ſo ſcurvily to obtain them." That ſcorn and contempt which I have naturally for pride and inſolence makes me remember that which otherwiſe I might have forgotten. Believe me, Sir, to be

Your faithful friend, and humble ſervant,

Doctors Commons,
Oct. 13, 1697.

W. KING.

[This Letter was written in Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æſop; and is printed in "Boyle againſt Bentley," p. 8.]

[z] Dr. Bentley appears to have been ſeverely ſtung by this ſhort Letter, if we may judge from the ſeverity with which he has treated our Author, in the Preface to his Diſſertation, 1699, p. xxviii—xxxv. "Let us "hear the Doctor's teſtimony (ſays the illuſtrious Critick); the air and "ſpirit of it is ſo very extraordinary; the virulency and inſolence ſo far "above the common pitch; that it puts me in mind of one *Rupilius* "*King*, a great anceſtor of the Doctor's, commended to poſterity by "Horace under this honourable character,

"*Proſcripti Regis Rupilî jus atque venenum*,
"The filth and venom of Rupilius King.

"And if the Doctor do not inherit the eſtate of Rupilius, yet the "whole world muſt allow that he is heir of his virtues."

SECOND

SECOND LETTER TO MR. BOYLE.

GIVE me leave, Sir, to tell you a ſecret—that I have ſpent an whole day upon Dr. Bentley's late volume of ſcandal and criticiſm [a]; for every one may not judge it for his credit to be ſo employed. He thinks meanly, I find, of my reading; as meanly as I think of his ſenſe, his modeſty, or his manners. And yet, for all that, I dare ſay, I have read more than any man in England beſides *him* and *me*; for I have read his Book all over.

If you have looked into it, Sir, you have found, that a perſon, under the pretence of criticiſm, may take what freedom he pleaſes with the reputation and credit of any gentleman; and that he need not have any regard to another man's character, who has once reſolved to expoſe his own.

It was my misfortune once in my life to be in the ſame place with Dr. Bentley, and a witneſs to a great deal of his rude and ſcurrilous language: which he was ſo liberal of, as to throw it out at random in a *public* ſhop; and is ſo ſilly now as to call it *eves-dropping* in me, becauſe he was ſo noiſy, and I was ſo near, that I could not help hearing it.

You deſired me, at ſome years diſtance, to recollect what paſſed at that meeting; and I obeyed your commands. Shall I reckon it an advantage, that Dr. Bentley, who diſputes the other teſtimonies, falls in entirely with mine? I would, if I were not apprehenſive that on that very account it might be one ſtep farther from being credited.

However, ſuch is his ſpite to me, that he confirms the truth of all I told you. For the only particular I could call to mind he grants, with ſome ſlight difference in the expreſſion. And as to the general account I gave of his rudeneſs and inſolence, he denies it indeed; but in ſo rude and inſolent a manner, that there is no occaſion for me to juſtify myſelf on that head.

I had declared, it ſeems, that he ſaid, "The Mſ. of Phalaris "would be worth nothing, if it were collated." He ſets me right; and avers, the expreſſion was, "That, after the various "lections were once taken, and printed, the Mſ. would be like "a ſqueeezed orange, and little worth for the future." The ſimilitude of "a ſqueezed orange" is indeed a conſiderable cir-

[a] The Diſſertation on Phalaris, 1699.

cumſtance,

cumſtance, which I had forgotten; as I doubtleſs did ſeveral others. But, for all that, I remember the general drift and manner of his diſcourſe, as well as if all the particular expreſſions were preſent to me. Juſt as I know his laſt Book to be a diſingenuous, vain, confuſed, unmannerly performance; though, to my happineſs, hardly any of his aukward jeſts or impertinent quotations ſtick by me.

I had owned it to be my opinion, "that a Mſ. was worth no-"thing *unleſs* it were collated." The Doctor cunningly diſtinguiſhes upon me; and ſays, "It is worth nothing indeed to the "reſt of the world; but it is better for the owner, if a price "were to be ſet upon it." I beg his pardon for my miſtake. I thought we were talking of books in the way of ſcholars: whereas he anſwers me like a bookſeller, and as if he *dealt in* Mſſ. inſtead of *reading* them. For my part, I meaſure the value of theſe kind of things, from the advantage the publick may receive from them, and not from the profit they are likely to bring in to a private owner. And therefore I have the ſame opinion of the Alexandrian Mſ. (which, he ſays, "he keeps in his "lodgings") now, as I ſhould have had before the Editors of the Engliſh Polyglott publiſhed the collation of it; though it may not perhaps bear up to the ſame price in St. Paul's Church-yard, or at an auction. But I hope, if it be *ſafely* kept, it need never come to the experiment.

As to the particular reflections he has caſt on me, it is no more than I expected. I could neither hope nor wiſh for better treatment from one that had uſed you ſo ill. It is reputable both to men and books to be ill ſpoken of by him; and a favourable preſumption on their ſide, that there is ſomething in both, which may chance to recommend them to the reſt of the world. It is in the power of every little creature, to throw dirty language: but a man muſt have ſome credit himſelf in the world, before things he ſays can leſſen the reputation of another. And if Dr. Bentley muſt be thus qualified in order to miſchief me, I am ſafe from all the harm that his malice can do me. I am, Sir,

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

W. KING.

[This Letter was written in the "Short Account of Dr. "Bentley's Humanity and Juſtice."]

ORI-

ORIGINAL ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE TEN FIRST

DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD[b].

TO THE READER.

THE following Dialogues were written by a Gentleman reſiding at Padua, upon ſome intelligence he received there of one Bentivoglio, a very troubleſome Critick in the world. The Author wrote them to divert his ſpleen, after having had a taſte of thoſe criticiſms. He was ſo kind as to ſend them to me, to make me ſome ſmall amends for his abſence. The freedom that is between us ſuffers me to let them go out of my hands in the dreſs that I received them; with a deſign to try whether other people may have the ſame opinion of him that I have. Adieu!

[b] A moſt admirable Diſſertation on the proper ſubjects for Dialogue-writing, and the manner in which it ſhould be ſucceſsfully executed, is prefixed to the Fourth Edition of Bp. Hurd's "Moral and Political Dia-"logues;" a work which is itſelf the beſt proof of the propriety of the rules it ſo accurately delineates.—Lord Lyttelton's "Dialogues of the "Dead" have been alſo much and deſervedly commended.

DIALOGUE I.

INTRODUCTION.

CHARON——LYCOPHRON.

LYCOPH. WHY, Charon, what did you bring hither laſt week?

CHARON. Ay, what indeed! I am like to loſe my place for it. I hear there is ſuch a ſtir among the Criticks, that the three judges have much ado to ratify bonds of arbitration between them. But pray tell me what I have done; for I am ignorant of my own crime.

LYCOPH. Why you brought over young Schrevelius; and he had with him the Works of the ſnarling Critick Bentivoglio.

CHAR. I cannot tell whoſe Works they were; but I am ſure they were confounded heavy. They had like to have ſunk my ſculler.—But I hope the troubles are compoſed on this ſide the water.

LYCOPH. No, worſe than ever; it is a mercy that no blood can be ſpilt among them; and, having no weapons, they cannot come to daggers-drawing.

CHAR. Pray what may be the reaſons of their diſſentions?

LYCOPH. Why, ſome are of your opinion, that indeed Bentivoglio is a *heavy* Writer; and ſay farther, "That he is too "bulky, and too tedious; that he argues upon trifles with too "great gravity, and manages ſerious things with as much light-"neſs; that he has pillaged Authors to gain a reputation, but "has ſo managed his contrivance that he has loſt his end." In ſhort, there are mighty diſputations whether he has leaſt wit, judgement, or good-manners. Rhadamanthus is their umpire; who, finding the caſe difficult, has taken a conſiderable time to deliberate concerning it.

CHAR. But pray, Sir, what do you ſay to this affair?

LYCOPH. Why indeed I am not wholly impartial in this matter; for Bentivoglio has very much obliged me throughout his Works. He has imitated me even without reaſon; for, as it was my choice, ſo his natural genius leads him to be unintelli-

gible. A man may as ſoon underſtand his Latin as his Engliſh, and *his* Engliſh as *my* Greek: *his* proſe is as fantaſtic as *my* verſe; and *my* prophecies carry more light with them than *his* demonſtrations.

CHAR. Why then he may have more worth and learning in him than the generality of mortals can eaſily comprehend.

LYCOPH. That is poſſible: but it is harder to ſearch for them than to dig in the mines of Potoſi. The great Dionyſius has found his worth; I mean, the ſame Dionyſius, who, from being tyrant of Syracuſe, became a ſchool-maſter and a pedant. He, upon reading Bentivoglio's Diſſertation upon Johannes Antiochenus[c], wherein he had ſtarted a new obſervation about the meaſures of Anapæſtic verſe, has called a hundred little youthful ſhades, that had formerly miſ-ſpent their time through the negligence of their fathers and the fondneſs of their mothers, to come all under his correction, where, brandiſhing his wooden authority, he commands them to ſcan Anapæſtic verſes; and, if they find any verſe ending with a ſhort ſyllable, they are immediately, right or wrong, to correct it, under the ſevere penalty of committing two pages of Bentivoglio's Works to their memory. Buchanan, who was likewiſe a ſchool-maſter of great ſenſe and parts, though of much paſſion, has ſent for a detachment of ſchool-boys from Grotius, and another from Scaliger, which, with ſome numbers from his own country, and the moderns, he has drawn up againſt Dionyſius: and this latter ſquadron affirm, that the laſt ſyllable of an Anapæſtic verſe may be ſhort, notwithſtanding Bentivoglio's Diſſertation. Proſerpine only knows the event of theſe troubles; for, till this matter be decided, Poetry muſt lye ſtill, ſince in ſuch dubious times no perſon can make an Anapæſtic verſe with any ſafety.

CHAR. Very true, Sir; a miſtake in *ſuch* a quantity may be of fatal conſequence.

LYCOPH. But, Charon, the heat of my diſcourſe had almoſt made me forget the very buſineſs I had with you. I have ſome requeſts to you from the Emperor Claudius: he is extremely enamoured with the Works of Bentivoglio; and has ſet forth his edict concerning ſome important matters, which, if you pleaſe, I will read to you: "CLAUDIUS, To the lovers of the *belles*

[c] See Bentley's Diſſertation on Phalaris, p. 132—145.

"*lettres*,

"*lettres*, greeting. All the world know how much I was con-
" cerned, and what brave and valiant things I acted, for the
" grandeur of the Roman Empire. But my greateſt glory was
" the adding of letters to the Roman alphabet; and it ſhall be
" the utmoſt of my endeavours to eſtabliſh the purity of the
" languages, and the exactneſs of ſpelling, throughout all nations.
" Therefore, conſidering the great ſervice which the moſt famous
" Bentivoglio has done his native country, by raiſing the credit of
" ſeveral admirable proverbs; I do order all perſons to uſe the
" ſame as often or oftener than they have occaſion; for nothing
" can be more edifying than the following maxims—That Leucon
" carries one thing, and his aſs another [d]—A man of courage and
" ſpirit ſhould not go with finger in eye to tell his ſtory [e]—A
" bungling tinker makes two holes while he mends one [f].—I like-
" wiſe, by the ſame authority, order, that, in all Books and Pre-
" faces whatſoever, ſuch words be uſed as have received the ſtamp
" of that great Author; for I do declare and " concede," that
" we ought to " repudiate" whatever is " commentitious;" but
" that to " aliene" what is " vernacular" is the " putid negoce of
" a timid idiom [g]." I have moreover taken into my ſerious conſi-
" deration the duty of true ſpelling; and do order and command,
" that no ſchool-miſtreſs, writing-maſter, gentleman, young
" lady, or others, do, by virtue or under pretence of any
" Metatheſis, Syncope, Metaſtoichie, Synecdoche [h], or any other
" figure whatſoever, preſume to write " cruds" for " curds,"
" " Delphos" for " Delphi," " ynuph" for " enough," " yf" for
" " wife [i]." But more particularly, that no one preſume to uſe " co-
" temporary" for " contemporary [k];" the letter N being in that
" place of the utmoſt importance. But he may with delight and
" pleaſure to his Readers tranſgreſs the rules of Orthography,
" and uſe the word " cogratulate [l]" in a jocoſe ſenſe, as it is ap-
" plied in the Writings of the moſt excellent Author before men-
" tioned. All this I eſtabliſh, under the penalty of Bentivoglio's
" irreſiſtible criticiſm, and our utmoſt diſpleaſure."—This edict
Claudius deſires may be ſet up beyond the Stygian Lake, that the
Shades may know how to act when they come hither.

[d] Diff. p. 75. [e] P. 39. [f] P. 75. [g] P. 85.
[h] Farnaby's Rhetorick. [i] Diff. p. 92. [k] P. 86. [l] Ibid.

CHAR. Sir, your requeſt ſhall be complied with: but I muſt make haſte away; for you know I am expected with impatience. If theſe are the diſputes of the perſons of *belles lettres*, I am ſure an honeſt ſkuller loſes precious time and tide whilſt he ſtays to hear them.

DIALOGUE II.

IMPUDENCE: OR, THE SOPHIST.

PHALARIS—THE SOPHIST.

PHAL. I AM told lately, ſince the coming over of Schrevelius, wherever I go, that you lay claim to my Epiſtles, and ſay they were written by you.

SOPH. Perhaps I may have done ſo, Sir, without offence.

PHAL. Without offence! Shall a Prince be rifled of his honour by a Pedant? be told to his face that his Works are not his own? Daggers, bulls, and torments!

SOHP. Not ſo angry, good Sir: you know that here in the Shades all perſons are equal. Beſides, Sir, it was always my humour to plume myſelf with borrowed feathers; and I never knew that the cuckow did not lye-in as decently as other birds, though ſhe never put herſelf to the trouble of building her neſt. And beſides, Sir, though Bentivoglio took whole paſſages from Nevelet and Vizzanius, yet they make no diſturbance amongſt the Shades—but here is ſuch a ſtir becauſe I am pleaſed to own your Epiſtles!

PHAL. Were you in the other world, you would not have dared to have talked ſo to me.

SOPH. Nay, were you in the other world, Bentivoglio would not have ſpoken as he has done of you.

PHAL. Impudence in perfection! Could ſuch a wretch as thou waſt be able to expreſs ſuch things as I have done? That "ho-"nour of learned men and eſteem of good," that "ſcorn of my "enemies," that "bounty to my friends," that "knowledge of "life, and contempt of death [m]?" Do not my thoughts flow with

[m] Sir William Temple's Eſſays.

freedom, and my native fierceneſs give vigour to my words, and animate all my expreſſions?

SOPH. Theſe arguments might convince another perſon; and perhaps you wrote ſuch a book indeed: but I have encouragement to take it upon me; and I will take it upon me.

PHAL. What are the reaſons by which you will convince other people that my Epiſtles are yours?

SOPH. Look you, Sir, I am reſolved to own them; and, however improbable the thing may be, I have a Doctor to ſtand by me. And then, Sir, I ſhall endeavour to pacify you with reaſons, if that will do it. My arguments are from "the uncertainty of the "time" in which you lived; and conſequently of ſuch perſons who might be your "cotemporaries," becauſe you know there could never have been two of the ſame name. Another argument I draw from the names of Sicilian towns and villages; which, amongſt the variety of little commonwealths and changes of principalities, muſt needs be the moſt certain rule imaginable to judge of time by, becauſe we know the greateſt nations are in diſpute concerning their own originals. Then you, who are a Dorian, pretend to write Attic, which is as abſurd as if a Berwick-man ſhould write Engliſh; and laſtly, you have four "ſayings," and ſix "words," that were not uſed till ſeveral ages after you were born, as I am credibly informed.

PHAL, Well, have you any more arguments?

SOPH. Yes, Sir; I ſhall throw you in one argument more, that muſt confound you. Throughout all your Epiſtles, "there "is not one word relating to the old gentlewoman your Mother, "which a man of your benevolence and affection to your family "could hardly have omitted; and in your Letters to your Son, "there is no mention made either of the young man's duty to his "grandmother, or of her love to him; and in your Letters to "your Wife, there is as great a ſilence about the mother's kindneſs "to her daughter-in-law." Beſides, "whereas all the ancients "uſed to *date* their Letters, yours are without any note, place, or "time, that one cannot tell where or when they were written [n]."

PHAL. Radamanthus, grant me patience!

SOPH. Stay, Sir; but one word more.—You ſay the Epiſtles are "your own:" I ſay they are "my own;" and that Bentivoglio has proved them to be ſo, by arguments that are "his own."

[n] Diſſ. p. 520.

DIALOGUE III.

MODERN ATCHIEVEMENTS.

BUTCHER—HERCULES.

BUTCH. WELL, for all your bluſtering, were we in the other world, I would not have turned my back to you; and, if I had had but a quarter-ſtaff, I would have ventured you with your club for coming in with me.

HERC. Did not I cleanſe the Augean ſtables, and conquer the bull of Marathon?

BUTCH. And I have ſtaved and tailed at the Bank-ſide [o] when the ſtouteſt He would not venture. Was it not I that, when Tom Dove broke looſe, and drove the mob before him, took him by the ring, and led him back to the ſtake, with the univerſal ſhouts of the company? Beſides, I queſtion whether you ever ſaw a bull-dog.

HERC. You talk of mean performances: but I ſubdued the Læſtrigons, who uſed to banquet upon man's fleſh; and deſtroyed horſes, that, after they had eaten the meat from a human body, would craſh the bones as other palfries do horſe-beans. Perhaps, you never heard of theſe ſtories.

BUTCH. Not I.

HERC. No, not you! Do you know what Authors ſay? That "Phalaris longed to eat a child," and "at laſt came to devour "ſucking children, taking them from their mothers breaſts to eat "them;" and that "his own ſon did not eſcape his hunger [p]." Do you know in what Olympiad "the famous Emperor Xerxes "butchered the Empreſs Atoſſa, ſiſter to Cambyſes, wife to Darius, "and his own natural mother, and then eat her [q]?" No, not you! Your ſtature and ſtrength of body makes you proud; but your ignorance in Hiſtory renders you contemptible. Read the Works of the great Bentivoglio, that are lately come over, and be wiſer.

BUTCH. I do not know any thing about your man-eaters; but I know when and where the fellow ran for the great bag-pudding, and eat it when he had done; and I am ſure, if this ſtory was well told, it would ſeem the more probable.

[o] At that time a principal amphitheatre, or bear-garden.

[p] Diſſ. p. 512, 513. [q] P. 536.

HERC.

HERC. You enrage me! Now, by the Gods, I have taken the Thermodoontiac belt from the Princeſs Thaleſtris.

BUTCH. Hold a little, good Sir; I have flung down the belt in Moor-fields, when never a Lincoln's-Inn-fields [r] wreſtler durſt encounter me.

HERC. What think you of Hyllus, Lycon, and Plato, the Wreſtlers, Cleanthes the Cuffer, and twenty more of them [s]? Oh, the glory of the former ages! what racing, what running, what wreſtling, what boxing at the Olympiads, the Pythic and Nemæan Games, when the oak, the pine, and parſley garlands remained the reward of their victories!

BUTCH. In truth, Sir, I believe the Corniſh hugg would have puzzled the *art* of your philoſophers; and that a prize at back-ſword, with the other weapons, as dagger, faulchion, and the reſt, may be as well worth admiration, as your hard-named *Lympiads* that you make ſuch a rout with. Hereafter I would have all the wenches that win the ſmock at Aſtrop [t], and the fellows that get the hat and feathers throughout England by boxing and cudgel-playing, to be put in the Chronicle, and take place above the high-conſtable.

HERC. What can you have ſeen like the horſe-racing in Greece; for, after the *apene*, which "was drawn by mules, and firſt was "uſed at the Olympicks in the 70th Olympiad, was cried down "in the 84th Olympiad," the race of horſes was improved to admiration.

BUTCH. This may be true; but, as poor a fellow as I was, I could have laid my leg over a good piece of horſe-fleſh, and, with a hundred guineas in my pocket, have ridden to New-market, where Dragon, or Why-not, Honey-come-punch, or Stiff-Dick,

[r] To a modern Reader, this alluſion will appear ſtrange. But Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, the largeſt and in many reſpects the moſt elegant ſquare in Europe, was for many years, even in the preſent century, the rendezvous of every ſpecies of vulgarity. Moor-fields ſtill retains evident veſtiges of having been ſacred to the gymnaſtic exerciſes.

[s] Diſſ. p. 52—54.

[t] Still the famed ſcene of contention among the ruſtic Virgins — for

"That linen veil, which pendent ruffles grace,
"Of Indian muſlin, or of Flanders lace;
"White as the lily or the ſkin it hides,
"Where charming Nature ſhines, and Love reſides." *Rape of Smock.*

ſhould have run for it[u] againſt any Grecian horſe that you or any of your forefathers could have produced.

HERC. You would ſtill pretend to out-do the ancients; but let me tell you one thing which I did, which (I muſt own my thanks to Bentivoglio) is by him recorded to poſterity. I had a mind to go to Erythræa[w], an iſland in the Weſtern Ocean; and how do you think I got thither? "In a ſhip," you will ſay. No! "In a brazen ſhip?" No! "In a cauldron?" No! "In a brazen "cauldron?" No! "In a golden bed?" No! "How then," you will ſay, "in the name of wonder?" "Why, in ſhort, "I got the ſun to lend me his golden cup to ſail in;" and I ſcudded away as well as if I had had all the wind and ſail imaginable.

BUTCH. And no ſuch great matter at laſt! I remember, as I was boaſting one day of my exploits to a good jolly Muſcovite at the Bear-garden, he told me, that St. Nicholas[x] came to their

[u] Theſe agile courſers of the laſt century muſt yield the palm, in the annals of Britiſh Olympicks, to the ſtill ſuperior fleetneſs of a Gimcrack or an Eclipſe. Whether the preſent age be indebted for this ſuperiority to the condeſcenſion of Senators converting themſelves into Grooms, or ſimply to the matchleſs excellence of Wildman as a trainer, impartial Poſterity muſt determine.

[w] Diſſ. p. 114, 115, 116.

[x] The Ruſſians are great worſhipers of pictures; and are affronted if the firſt thing they throw their eyes upon, when they enter a houſe, is not a ſaint. St. Nicholas, as their favourite, is always in a conſpicuous part of the houſe. To this, the ſervants bow, and croſs themſelves, every morning and night, and always when they enter. They are wretchedly daubed, without any attempt at perſpective. It is not uncommon to ſee the Virgin Mary with three hands in theſe pictures, two folded before her, and the child Jeſus in the third; or to behold St. Joſeph, ſawing a great plank, and the child Jeſus, with the glory round his head, and a broom in his hand, ſweeping out the chips and ſaw-duſt. The doctrine of Domoivois is alſo very curious in Ruſſia. The Domoivoi is the tutelar ſpirit of the houſe; ſomething like our Fairies, or rather like the Lars at Rome. When a ſervant comes to a new place, the firſt time he is alone, he walks about the room, ſpeaking to the walls, beſeeching the Domoivoi to be good to him, not to diſpleaſe his maſter and miſtreſs, not to tie his hair in knots in the night, and not to dance upon him when he is in bed, &c. &c.—It is amazing to think how ſeriouſly the lower claſs of people will ſpeak of ſuch wretched things; and a maſter often loſes a good ſervant, becauſe "the Domoivoi plagues him!"

country

country ſailing upon a mill-ſtone; which I thought as humourſome a paſſage as your cup. But, to be ſhort and plain with you, I have witneſſes both on this ſide and the other ſide of Styx, that ſaw me row myſelf from the Horſe-ferry to the other ſide of the water, in my own tray, with a couple of trenchers; and there is "a tray" and "a mill-ſtone" for your "cup" and your "caul-"dron!"

HERC. I find you will have the laſt word.

BUTCH. Well, ſince he is gone, I think I may ſay, that the perſons who have lived lately are only wanting to themſelves; and that it is the negligence of our Ballad-ſingers that makes us to be talked of leſs than others: for who almoſt, beſides St. George, King Arthur, Bevis, Guy, and Hickathrift, are in the Chronicles?—Our great Scholars are ſo much taken up with ſuch fellows as this Hercules, Hyllus the Wreſtler, Cleanthes the Cuffer, Phalaris and Xerxes the Man-eaters, that they never mind "my "actions," nor ſeveral other of their own country-mens.

DIALOGUE IV.

SELF-LOVE; OR, THE BEAU.

RICARDO—NARCISSUS.

RIC. "AUGUSTUS died in a compliment, Tiberius in diſ-"ſimulation, Veſpaſian in a jeſt, Galba with a ſen-"tence, Severus in diſpatch, and Narciſſus in love[y]."

NARC. I think myſelf happy in my death, ſince it was in purſuance of ſo juſtifiable a paſſion as that of Self-love; for all the world muſt own that I was charmingly beautiful.

RIC. Why, truly, I think that a Critick, as Bentivoglio for example, has as much reaſon to value himſelf upon as you had, or rather more. And, indeed, are not his Works full of himſelf[z]? And is he at all ſparing in his own commendations[a]? Does he bluſh to hear himſelf praiſed? or rather does he not ſpread his gayeſt feather to the beſt advantage; and then amplify, expatiate, and comment, upon himſelf, that beloved ſubject[b]? In ſhort,

[y] Lord Bacon, in his Eſſays.
[z] Diſſ. Pref. p. i—cxii.
[a] P. 1—549.
[b] Pref. p. lxxx—lxxxiv. Diſſ. p. 59, 60.

has

has he not done himſelf "true honour," by "his improvement "of the *parodia* of the the ſalt-cellar [c]," and then "aſſuming that "warmth and haughtineſs" which are companions of ſuch as are conſcious of their own merit? Well, I am ſatisfied you could never have been ſo handſome, as he is learned and ingenious in his own eyes.

NARC. Might three pimples at once have ſeized my complexion, if you do not amaze a perſon of my fondneſs for my own accompliſhments! Did not my perfections occaſion me the envy of my ſex?

RIC. And will not "even envy itſelf be forced to allow" that Bentivoglio's diſcovery concerning "Anapæſts is no incon-"ſiderable one [d]?" And does not he ſpeak truth, when he ſays the Criticks tell him, that *rumpantur ut ilia codris* [e], "although "the codri burſt with ſpleen, yet he will be eſteemed by all that "cultivate humanity?"

NARC. All the nymphs addreſſed to me in the ſofteſt words, and moſt languiſhing expreſſions.

RIC. And can any thing be more tender than what the Criticks tell Bentivoglio, that "they keep his Epiſtles more carefully than "dried grapes [f]," or preſerved pine apples; that "he arrives to "the palate as ſoon as taſted, and is the very oglio of all muſical "dainties [g]?"

NARC. Did not ſighs and tears attend my neglect? and was not death the companion of my diſdain?

RIC. And does not Bentivoglio's all-correcting-pen, when once drawn forth, make all the Criticks tremble? Is Voſſius ſecure? is Scaliger without his faults? do not Stobæus and Pollux know their diſtance? nay, can even the Etymologicon or The Scholiaſt be then ſuppoſed to be unblameable [h]?

NARC. Echo declares the force of my charms; and, though a miſerable, yet is a laſting, monument of my conqueſt.

RIC. Echo repeats only the laſt and dying ſounds of ſentences; whereas Bentivoglio knows that he has the full voice of Fame. He has received "thanks from all the lovers of polite learning [i];"

[c] Pref. p. ci, cii. [d] Diſſ. p. 133. [e] Pref. p. xlviii. lv.
[f] Pref. p. liii. "Qui omnia tuo cuſtodio diligentius Nigris Uvis."
[g] Pref. p. lxxx. "Videbis hic, Lector ſtudioſe, muſicarum cupediarum "et aliud quod tuo palato ſimul ac guſtâris, ſat ſcio arridebit mirifice."
[h] P. 281—283. [i] Pref. p. lxviii, lxix.

and

and his worth has long ago reached theſe Shades, and has put the "Ghoſt of Reubenius" to an uneaſineſs, to know how to return the obligations received from him.

NARC. The Gods took care that I ſhould not be forgotten in the other world. Each Spring revives my flower, which preſerves my name, and is the greateſt beauty in the garlands of all nymphs that lament my abſence.

RIC. But the great Bentivoglio has more ſublime glory! What Emperors were flattered with when dead, that he has gained deſervedly whilſt living. "He is a ſtar already;" and, if he proceeds in his learned labours, may become a conſtellation. He is reverenced by all, for being the "new and riſing "ſtar," and "the brighteſt light of Britain[k]; whereas, Sir, for your flowers, a man may have a baſket-full of you in the market for ſix pence.

NARC. Well, I will hide myſelf in the thickeſt ſhade of myrtles; there contemplate upon my own perfections, and every now and then in ſome neighbouring fountain (ſince I cannot fear a ſecond death) gaze upon my own beauty. Farewell, fond Critick! Languiſh in thy misfortune; ſince thou doſt not comprehend my worth, which I alone know how to value.

RIC. Alas, he flies! And now methinks I begin already to repent of what I have done.—How unſincere are all human pleaſures! Something ſtill intervenes, to tarniſh the luſtre of our triumphs.—I may have gained the better of Narciſſus; but then I grieve to think that, after his example, ſome day or other, even my friend Bentivoglio's ſelf-love may chance to be put out of countenance!

DIALOGUE V.

THE DICTIONARY.

HESYCHIUS—GOULDMAN.

HESYCH. OH, Brother Gouldman! I am heartily glad to meet you. You muſt have heard the news. Bentivoglio has vindicated the worth and honour of all Dictionaries.

[k] Pref. p. lxxix, lxxxi.

He

He has read "half of me;" and has made "honourable mention "of me" in all his Works[1]: he has "reſtored me" in "ten "thouſand places," and "collated me" with all the manuſcripts in the world but thoſe in the King of Poland's Library. Methinks you do not ſeem ſo pleaſed with the news as you ought to be. Are you not concerned for the wit, reputation, and honour, of one that can write a Dictionary? You ſeem as unconcerned as if you had no opinion of the matter.

GOULDM. Pr'ythee, Brother Heſychius, do not trouble me with the ſtory of a fellow that has read your labours; for I am perſuaded that he muſt have a very ſmall library, and little to do, that reads a Dictionary.

HESYCH. Not read a Dictionary! Why I knew a man that read all the volumes of Stephens's Theſaurus thrice over.

GOULDM. I thought Dictionaries had been made, not to have been read, but turned to. Beſides, ſome are too voluminous. There came out in Arabia, ſome centuries ago, a Dictionary of three or four Folio's, which contains nothing elſe but the ſeveral parts of a *camel*, and the words that are properly uſed in the dreſſing and equipping of it. Do you think it would be worth while to make one of equal bulk concerning *horſes*, for the uſe of the Europeans? How many grooms in The Meuſe, or jockies in Smithfield, do you think would read it?

HESYCH. You are the moſt provoking ſhade that walks. What! no wit, breeding, complaiſance, politicks, knowledge of men and manners, to be learned out of Dictionaries? Prove it, prove it. Hear him, hear him.

GOULDM. I grant that all wit, arts, genteel and mannerly converſation, are contained in Dictionaries, juſt as they are in the Alphabet; and, in ſome meaſure, more properly, becauſe they contain words: but then the joining of them is the art our Dictionaries will never teach a man; for, ſuppoſe I was to diſcourſe in Politicks: my firſt word I find in your 119th page, the ſecond in the 204th, and the third perhaps an hundred pages after. Now this as too much for mortal man to carry in his memory.

HESYCH. So then you would have a man put words togegether properly, to make ſenſe of them! Very fine! How then could I or my friend Bentivoglio be Authors? But let me hear you as to the *wit* of Dictionaries.

[1] Diſſertation on Phalaris, *paſſim*.

GOULDM.

GOULDM. Why, I believe that the perſon who pretends to have diſcovered any wit, either in mine or yours Brother, has found out more than ever we deſigned to teach him.

HESYCH. Aſtoniſhment! Does not more of Homer's wit appear in his Euſtathius and Didymus than in his Iliad? and is not "Clavis Homerica" better than either, and Scherus's Index a wiſer book than any of them all? What man will not own that Erythræus has done more ſervice to Virgil than Ogilby has by tranſlating him?

GOULDM. At the ſame rate, I ſuppoſe, you will compliment me, and tell me, that the proper names at the end of my Dictionary are a better Hiſtory than Hollingſhed, Heylin, and Howell all together. Now you ſee the uſe of my Letter *H.*

HESYCH. Why ſo they are! But can there be more wit than in any etymology, of which you are full from all languages?

GOULDM. Etymologies may indeed furniſh materials for quibblers, punſters, and conundrum-makers: but theſe ſorts of wit are as much out of uſe as *hammered money* [m].

HESYCH. But I hope they will be in eſteem again, when my Works are reſtored by the hand of the great Bentivoglio.—But is not the order of a Dictionary admirable [n]? has not Julius Pollux a moſt incomparable fluency? is not Harpocration an exquiſite politician? Meurſius's Gloſſary of the Greek and Barbarous words moſt harmonious? does not Paſſer contend with Schrevelius, and Schrevelius with Paſſer, and both deſerve the conqueſt? But you do not ſeem to have a juſt eſteem for your own Works—"Tanti eris aliis quanti tibi fueris," as the Poet Calepin has it. Be ſure, think as well of *yourſelf* for writing a Dictionary, as Bentivoglio does of *himſelf* for reading one; and the world muſt think well of you.

[m] Which few of the preſent age have ever ſeem. An act paſſed, Jan. 14, 1697-8, to prevent the further currency of any hammered ſilver coin in this kingdom, and for recoining ſuch as was then in being. In the preceding year, exchequer bills were firſt projected.

[n] Diſſ. p. 4.

DIA-

DIALOGUE VI.

AFFECTATION OF THE LEARNED LADY.

BELLAMIRA—CALPHURNIA.

BELL. YOU ſeem, Madam, to have been ſtrangely delighted with the *belles lettres* whilſt you were in the other world.

CALPH. Why, truly, Madam, I was thought to have had a reliſh for them, and not to have been *ſans quelque goût* in the *belle manière*.

BELL. Reading may be allowable in our ſex, when we have little elſe to do, eſpecially if the ſubject be diverting; but your toilette uſed always to be heaped with ſuch Books as frightened me to look into them.

CALPH. Having an acquaintance among the Learned, ſometimes I had ſpread before me the Works of Janſenius and M. Arnaud, Stephens's Theſaurus, Des Cartes, Caſaubon's Athenæus, Kircher, Lipſius, Taubmannus, with ſuch like Authors, and Manuſcripts innumerable.

BELL. Indeed, Madam, you uſed to make an appearance abroad, as if you beſtowed your time in your dreſſing-room different from other Ladies.

CALPH. I was ſo viſited in a morning by the Virtuoſi, Criticks, Poets, Bookſellers; ſo taken up with my correſpondence with the Learned both at home and abroad; that I had little time to talk with my Millener, Dreſſer, Mantua-maker, and ſuch illiterate people.

BELL. Such a *levée* for a Lady is not very common: but they who have had a capacity for ſuch company muſt needs have been very well entertained.

CALPH. Oh, infinitely! The company moſt charming! I could have wiſhed, for your ſake, Madam, that you had underſtood Latin and Greek—I could have recommended to your acquaintance ſo profound a ſcholar!

BELL. To what intent, Madam?

CALPH. Why you, Madam, were a perſon very nice and exact in your dreſs, your table, and apartments. I have heard him, Madam, give ſuch a deſcription of a commode from a Satire of Juvenal,

Juvenal, that your Ladyſhip could not have found fault with the air of it. Then he illuſtrated the text with the comments of Lubin, Holiday, and others, to that degree, Madam,—"compagi-"bus altis ædificare caput," Madam! Oh, charming! beyond any thing, even of the French, Madam!

BELL. You are obliging to aſſiſt me in this matter; for I ignorantly took the faſhion as I found it.

CALPH. A gentleman came one morning with ſeveral various readings upon Vitruvius; and from thence perſuaded me that the frame of my looking-glaſs was the moſt injudicious piece of architecture that could be; that the baſes were Doric, the capitals Corinthian, and the architrave perfectly Barbarous: for which reaſon I went abroad without patches, till ſuch abſurdities were entirely mended and corrected by his direction.

BELL. I remember, in Don Quixote, one of my Authors, the Marquis of Mantua, when he had ſworn to revenge the death of his nephew Valdovinos, was not to eat on a table-cloth till he had performed it. But was not yours too ſevere a mortification for the ignorance of your cabinet-maker? But pray, Madam, who was this knowing perſon?

CALPH. It was the great Virtuoſo Signior Bentivoglio, a perſon of the moſt known merit then breathing. I did nothing in my family without his direction. He has often taken his bill of fare out of Athenæus, and covered my table with the moſt ſurprizing diſhes imaginable. Ordinary perſons content themſelves with modern ſoups; but, after my acquaintance with him, nothing but the black "Lacedæmonian broth [o]" might be ſet before us. He gave the braveſt ſounding Greek names from Simon's "Art of Cookery" and the "Gaſtronomia," ſuch *oulions*, *groulions*, *floios*, and *toios*, to the end of every thing, that it was moſt charming. He made the moſt delicious *alphiton* [p] of the Ancients, far exceeding our haſty-pudding. I remember once, at the ſight of a piece of roaſt-beef, he repeated ſuch a rumbling deſcription out of Homer, of the beef ſent up to Agamemnon, that, I profeſs, my Lady Cornelia's children ran away frightened, long before the *melimela* and *mala aurea*, which the ignorant call "the deſert," could poſſibly be ſet on the table.

BELL. I profeſs, Madam, I had rather have gone without "a deſert," nay, a ſecond courſe, than have had things with ſuch

[o] P. 567. 379. [p] P. 379.

hideous

hideous names ſet before me. But, Madam, do learned men trouble themſelves about ſuch affairs as theſe are?

CALPH. Oh! Madam, "no man can be a Scholar without "being expert in the whole method of Athenæus's Cookery." What quarrels, Madam, do you think there have been between grave and learned men, about ſpelling a Greek word, that has been only one ſingle ingredient of a patty-pan! Pray read Athenæus, Madam; and you will be convinced of it.

BELL. Surely, learned men will not quarrel about trifles!

CALPH. Oh! Madam, rather than any thing. Why, as I have read in ſeveral Authors, Timotheus, a Grammarian, upon a diſpute concerning a Greek word, laid his *beard* to a *chechine*[q], with the great Scholar Philelphus. The old Gentleman loſt; and his adverſary was ſo unmerciful as to cut it off, and hang it upon his chair, as a monument of his victory.

BELL. A cruelty, in my opinion, too inſulting.

CALPH. Oh! Madam, I had forgotten one thing: I moſt heartily beg your pardon. Bentivoglio one day ſhewed me the name of a pudding in one of Ariſtophanes's plays, which, if it were written at its full length, would be as long as your Ladyſhip's tippet.

BELL. I fancy this outlandiſh way of furniſhing your table was the reaſon why perſons of quality avoided eating with you, eſpecially having company that diſcourſed ſo much above them.

CALPH. I was ſo involved in the Greek, that I proteſt, Madam, I had entirely forgotten the neceſſary ingredients for lemon-cream and jelly of harts-horn.

BELL. Perhaps that might be the reaſon you appeared ſo ſeldom in the Park, and were ſo very long before you returned a viſit that had been paid you.

CALPH. My day for the Ladies was but once a fortnight; but every day for the *Virtuoſi*. But, pray, Madam, how did you ſpend your time, and fit yourſelf for converſation?

BELL. Why, Madam, my own affairs took up ſome part of my time; muſick and drawing diverted me now and then; I had ſometimes a fancy for work; I now and then went to ſee a play, when I liked the company I went with better than thoſe I uſually found there; I made myſelf as eaſy as I could to my

[q] Probably a Zechin, or Sequin, a piece of gold coined at Venice and ſome parts of the Eaſt, of about nine ſhillings value.

acquaintance,

acquaintance, and I have ſtill the vanity to think I was not diſagreeable to them.—And I did not find but ſuch of us as made out in civility what we wanted in learning, might paſs our time well enough in the world.

CALPH. If you can ſatisfy yourſelf with ſuch trifles, I am your ſervant, Madam; and adieu!

DIALOGUE VII.

CHRONOLOGY.

W. LILLY[r] THE ASTROLOGER—HELVICUS.

LILLY. WHY, as matters go now with Chronology, it ſignifies nothing what we do. There is no value for exactneſs. To what end have we ſtudied? What becomes of our Decimals, Sexageſimals, Algorithms of Fractions, Paraboliſms, Hypobybaſms, Parallelopipeds, and Zenzes? When we have flung away a day, nay, ſometimes a week, to preſerve the leaſt imaginary part of a moment, what honours are at laſt conferred upon us? Father Time may even beſtow his hour-glaſs upon what pariſh-church he pleaſes; and next hay-harveſt, for want, or elſe diverſion, mow his way down from Paddington to Cumberland.

HELR. Why in ſuch a paſſion, Brother Lilly?

LILLY. Brother Lilly!—You make very free with me. I am none of your Brother! The great Bentivoglio may indeed call me Brother, ſince the publication of his eternal labours. He equals

[r] Lilly, though known to be an impoſtor, had a penſion of an hundred pounds a year conferred on him by the council of ſtate. The Royaliſts treated him with ridicule and contempt. He is the Sidrophel of Butler; and Sir John Birkenhead, in his "Paul's Church-yard," a facetious ſatire upon various books at that time well known, ſatirizes his almanack, where he mentions "Merlinus Anglicus, the Art of diſcovering all that never "was, and all that never ſhall be." Gataker, who well knew the futility of his art, calls him "blind buzzard." He ſeems to have been checked by no ſcruples in promoting the rebellion; and indeed tells us himſelf, that he "engaged body and ſoul in the cauſe of the parliament." He was born in 1602, at Diſeworth, in Leiceſterſhire; and died June 9, 1681.

the Chronological Tables [s] that I yearly publiſhed; and then he is ſo exact a man at the original of a Sicilian city, that, amidſt never ſo great variety of Authors, he can tell you the man who laid the firſt ſtone of it. There was not a potter in Athens, or a brazier in Corinth, but he knows when he ſet up, and who took out a ſtatute of bankrupt againſt him.

HELV. Why this is great learning indeed!

LILLY. Why ſo it is, Sir. Do you know whether Thericles [t] made *glaſs* or *earthen ware*, or what Olympiad he lived in?

HELV. Truly, not I! But do the fortunes of Greece depend upon it?

LILLY. Thus you would encourage ignorance! My Brother Bentivoglio and I have ſtudied many years upon things of leſs importance, ſome of which I ſhall name to you; as, that Carp and Hops came into England the ſame year with Hereſy;—that the firſt Weather-cock was ſet up, on the tomb of Zethys and Calais, ſons of Boreas, in the time of the Argonautic expedition;—that Mrs. Turner brought up the faſhion of Yellow Starch [u];—that the Sybarites firſt laid Roſe-cakes and Lavender among their linen;—that Sardanapalus was the inventor of Cuſhions, which never before this laſt century have been improved into eaſy Chairs, by the metamorphoſis of caſt mantuas and petticoats, to the ruin of chamber-maids.—And yet we thought our time well ſpent, I muſt tell you.

HELV. Are any of theſe things in Uſher's "Annals," or Simpſon's "Chronicon?"

LILLY. Perhaps not. But we ſtand upon their ſhoulders, and therefore ſee things with greater exactneſs. Perhaps never man came to the ſame pitch of Chronology as the much-eſteemed Bentivoglio. He has gotten the true ſtandard by which to judge of the Græcian time: "He knows the age of any Greek word unleſs it be in the Greek Teſtament;" and can tell you the time a man lived in, by reading a page of his book, as eaſily as I could

[s] See the Diſſertation. [t] Diſſertation about Thericlean cups.

[u] Yellow ſtarch for ruffs, firſt invented by the French, and adapted to the ſallow complexions of that people, was introduced by Mrs. Turner, a phyſician's widow, who had a principal hand in poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury. This vain and infamous woman, who went to be hanged in a ruff of that colour, helped to ſupport the faſhion, as long as ſhe was able. It began to decline on her execution. See Granger, vol. ii. 8vo, p. 65.

have told an oyſter-woman's fortune when my hand was croſt with a piece of ſilver.

HELV. This is admirable! Why then, it ſeems, words have their chronology and phraſes, their riſe and fall, as well as the Four Monarchies.

LILLY. Very right; let Bentivoglio but get a ſentence of Greek in his mouth, and turn it once or twice upon his tongue; and he as well knows the growth of it, as a vintner does Burgundy from Madeira.

HELV. For ſhame, give over. You and Bentivoglio are a diſgrace to Chronology—which is a ſtudy that has and does employ the care of the greateſt men in Church and State. Nothing can be of more uſe than the periods they fix, both for the illuſtration of Hiſtory, and the ſervice of Religion. But I muſt own, that the crockery-ware of Thericles does not fall under the notice of theſe grave enquirers. Conſider farther, that men of true learning will always be *honoured*, whilſt their mimicks are *deſpiſed*.

DIALOGUE VIII.

THE IMPOSTURE.

HERACLITUS—DEMOCRITUS.

HERAC. ALAS! alas! the world, it ſeems, continues ſtill the ſame! "Lies, miſtakes, cheats, forgeries, and im-"poſtures[w]," are publiſhed and defended amongſt the Learned, as much as ever!—Alas! alas!

DEMOC. Chear up your ſpirits, old ſpark. The world owes half its eaſe, content, and happineſs, to deceit:

"So to his cure we the ſick youth betray,
"And round the cup perſuaſive honey lay;
"The bitter draught, thus by the boy receiv'd,
"Preſerves his life for being well deceiv'd[x]."

A coxcomb is the object of envy, rather than pity. When you weep, to ſee ſharpers impoſe upon his ſenſe, bullies upon his courage, and pedants upon his underſtanding; he laughs at your tears, and I laugh at his follies.

[w] Diſſ. 239. 331. 339. 374, &c.

[x] Taſſo, from Lucretius.

HERAC. Who without concern will conſider that "Pythagoras "ſhould write verſes, and put Orpheus's name to them[y];" That "Heraclites ſhould be ſuch an impoſture as to counterfeit "Theſpis's Plays, and impoſe upon Clemens Alexandrinus, "Pollux, and Plutarch, all together[z]?" Alas! the very "Laws "of Charondas and Zaleucus are ſpurious cheats and foul im-"poſtures[a];" whilſt Diodorus, Stobæus, and others, have, as much as in them lay, contributed to the villany[b].

DEMOC. Defer your paſſion. The other ſide of theſe propoſitions may chance to be true. Beſides, you paſs no great compliment upon learning, when you would ſhew your learned men of antiquity to be either fools or raſcals. You may eaſily gueſs, by this ſimile, what the generality of bye-ſtanders will be apt to do upon this occaſion.

HERAC. But O! Phalaris! Phalaris! Notwithſtanding the Diſſertations of Bentivoglio, "the Sophiſt impoſes his ſpurious "Epiſtles upon the world under his name;" and the Examiner[c], who has undertaken his Defence, has met with a kind reception from the world: whilſt none complain, but I and Bentivoglio.

DEMOC. Whilſt life, ſpirit, and a great genius, ſhine throughout the Epiſtles; and whilſt wit, judgement, and learning, go along with the Examiner; men will read them. In the mean time, dry your eyes; and aſſure yourſelf, your friend Bentivoglio will never be uſeleſs ſo long as there are any Grocers.—You ſeem more pale than ordinary all of a ſudden! What is the matter?

HERAC. The ſtone! the ſtone! the ſtone!

DEMOC. You cannot be troubled with that, ſince your ſhade can feel no pain.

HERAC. It is the marble—*that* is the thing that grieves me.

DEMOC. Pray, what has this marble done?

HERAC. Time has devoured it.

DEMOC. If that be all, that is a thing common to all marble.

HERAC. Oh! but this which is eaten is in the moſt material place for the purpoſe. For, without a man can make ſenſe of . . . . *ſpotoniſtha* . . . . *d'* . . . . *arſicho* . . . . *noinow* . . . . *er* . . . .

y Diſſ. p. 15. z P. 245. a P. 334. b Diſſ. p. 335—376.
c See "Boyle againſt Bentley," *paſſim*.

nay

nos . . . . . &c[d]. and read whole lines where no letters can be ſeen, the age of Tragedy, which is "an important matter[e]," can never be determined.

DEMOC. You are much beſide the mark, old Friend, if you would have a ſtone legible. A huge marble would "ſell for "nothing," if it had above a dozen letters on it. "That is the "ſtone for money[f]," which requires ſpectacles, and an iron ſeſkew to make letters where a man cannot find them. It is not a Critick's buſineſs to read marbles; but, out of "broken pieces," to gueſs at them, and then poſitively to reſtore them. As the miſunderſtanding of this at preſent has cauſed you ſome diſturbance; ſo the contemplation of an Antiquary for the future may create you very good diverſion.

HERAC. You ſeem not to have a juſt reliſh of Antiquity, whilſt I deplore thoſe irreparable loſſes which Time has occaſioned. Not a mortal now breathing knows "the ſhape of Neſtor's cup, "nor what were the diſputes of the Old Grammarians about it, "ſince the many Treatiſes which were written upon that ſubject "are now periſhed and ſunk in oblivion[g]."

DEMOC. Well, I will procure you a Catalogue, from Bentivoglio, of "ſuch *Books* as have been *loſt* and are *found*, ſuch as "have been *loſt* and are *not found*; and, in ſhort, of ſuch as have "*neither been loſt nor found*." But my heart will not break ſo long as there are ſuch Diſſertations remaining as, "The Hiſtory "of *Coffee*, *Tea*, *Chocolate*, and *Tobacco*."—"The Theological "Collation, occaſioned by the words *Tirez*, *Mirez*, *Beuf*, that "is, *Take*, *Look*, *Drink*, by the profound Scholar Adrian Vander "Bliſt."—"The Treatiſe of Northallerton Ale."—The Interlude "of Ale, Toaſt, Sugar, Nutmeg, and Tobacco; with the Conteſt "of Toaſt, for having rubbed himſelf againſt Nutmeg."—"Learn "to lie warm; proving the Neceſſity for a young Man to marry "an old Woman."—Theſe writings to me ſupply the place of "all Authors that have written about the ſhape of cups" ſince the reign of Saturn.

HERAC. Whilſt, in the mean time, my grief is inſupportable!

DEMOC. Come, put off your chagrin; and take a little of my good-humour along with you. I will *rail* with you[h]; *quibble* with

[d] Diſſ. p. 208. [e] P. 389. [f] Preface. [g] P. 115.

[h] "If I ſay that graſs is green, or ſnow is white, I am ſtill at the "courteſy of my Antagoniſt; for, if he ſhould rub his forehead, and "deny

with you [i]; quote *proverbs* with you [k]; *diſpute* with you [l]; *pun* with you [m]; *cut Greek capers* with you [n]; tell a *goſſip's tale* with you [o]; ſing a *ſmutty catch* with you [p]:—any thing to divert you; and yet all ſhall be according to art, and the exact method of your Friend Bentivoglio. I ſee you look ſour, and begin to frown upon me.—How true a ſaying is it, "That one man may

"deny it, I do not ſee by what ſyllogiſm I ſhould refute him." Diſſ. p. 408.

i "In a body of laws, any metaphor at all makes but an odd figure." P. 361.—"Mr. Boyle is pleaſed to call that Diſſertation my *ſoft* Epiſtle to "Dr. Mill, which is ironically ſaid for *hard*; and indeed, to confeſs the "truth, it is too *hard* for him to bite at." P. 277.

k "Such a trade would have been as unprofitable as to carry *ſilphium* "to Cyrene, or *frankincenſe* to Arabia, or *coals* to Newcaſtle." P. 351.

l "It is as if ſome boy ſhould thus argue with his maſter: *Pomum* may "ſignify *malum*, an *apple*; and *pomum* may ſignify *ceraſum*, a *cherry*; "therefore *malum*, an *apple*, may ſignify *ceraſum*, a *cherry*." P. 297.

m "Stratonicus the Muſician made a quibble about it; for, as he once "was in Mylaſa, a city that had few inhabitants in it, but a great many "temples, he comes into the market-place, as if he would proclaim "ſomething; but inſtead of Ἀνθρώπους, Ναοὶ, as the form uſed to be, he "ſaid, Ἀνθρώπους, Ναοὶ, which is ſo good in Greek that it cannot be tranſ-"lated." P. 203.

n "Make room there; for I am beginning a dance that is enough to "ſtrain a man's ſides with the violent motion. Pollux ſays of the dances "of women, they were to kick their heels higher than their ſhoulders: "and, in Phrynichus's way, friſk and caper, ſo as the ſpectators, ſeeing "your legs aloft, may cry out with admiration." [It is hardly to be ſuppoſed that the inhabitants of the lately-diſcovered Southern Iſlands are converſant with Grecian manners; yet the females of Otaheite appear to have been well verſed in this ſpecies of dancing.]—"With a Diſſertation "concerning an error in Ariſtophanes, which has continued ever ſince "Adrian's time, whether Phrynichus *ſneaks like a cock*, or rather *ſtrikes "like a cock*. A very material queſtion!" P. 264—269.

o "A certain goſſip of old, as the ſtory goes, would needs tell her "comrades what Jupiter once whiſpered to Juno in her ear. The com-"pany was inquiſitive how ſhe could know it then. But Mr. Boyle "would have anſwered for her, That they might as well aſk her how ſhe "came to know his name was Jupiter. Fame, that told her the one, "muſt tell her the other too." P. 224.

p "A Greek Song in Athenæus. They are the words of a woman to "her lover, that he would riſe before her huſband comes home and catches "them." P. 357.

"ſteal

" ſteal a horſe with leſs danger than another look over the hedge!" Should I do any of theſe things of my own head, I know how I ſhould be cenſured, and what would become of me. But, when I act under the pretence of being " a great Scholar," and the open protection of ſuch an authority as that of Bentivoglio, I dare be as fanciful as " any Diſſertator of them all."

DIALOGUE IX.

MODERN LEARNING[q].

SIGNIOR MODERNO—SIGNIOR INDIFFERENTIO.

INDIFF. WHERE have you been, Moderno, in the name of wonder! You make ſuch a hideous figure, and are ſo dirty, that no gentleman would come near you? What, has your horſe thrown you? or what is the matter?

MOD.

[q] Mr. William Wotton, an Engliſh Divine of moſt uncommon parts and learning, was born Aug. 13, 1666. He diſcovered a very extraordinary genius for learning languages at an age almoſt incredible; was admitted of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, at leſs than ten years old; took the degree of B. A. in 1679; obtained afterwards a fellowſhip in St. John's; commenced B. D. in 1691; was made chaplain to the earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate, who in 1693 gave him a rectory in Bucks. The next year he publiſhed the " Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning," a ſurprizing work for a man of eight-and-twenty. A ſecond edition of this book being publiſhed in 1697, with Dr. Bentley's Diſſertations annexed to it (as mentioned above, p. 139), Mr. Wotton was involved in the controverſy. Even Mr. Boyle allows, that " he is modeſt " and decent, ſpeaks generally with reſpect of thoſe he differs from, and " with a due diſtruſt of his own opinions. His book has a vein of learn- " ing running through it, where there is no oſtentation of it." (Boyle againſt Bentley, p. 25.) It is well known, that he fell under the laſh of Dr. Swift; which put him on writing " A Defence of his Reflections, " &c." re-printed, with a third corrected edition of the Reflections, in 1705. His firſt publication as a divine (a ſermon againſt Tindal's " Rights") appeared in 1706; and in 1707 he obtained his Doctor's degree. From difficulties in his private fortune, he retired into Wales in 1714; and acquired ſuch ſkill in that language as enabled him to undertake the

MOD. The matter! why "I have been in a ditch."

INDIFF. By ſome accident, I ſuppoſe.

MOD. Accident! no, you know better ſure than that. "Gentlemen of my eſtate, fortune, education, parts, and learning, do "not uſe to go into a ditch by accident, but choice. There has "been more true experience in Natural Philoſophy gathered out "of ditches in this latter century, than Pliny and Ariſtotle were "maſters of both together; though one was of the firſt quality in "Rome, and the other was maſter to the founder of the third "Monarchy[r]."

INDIFF. But what may have been your diverſion in "this "ditch?"

MOD. Why, I have been "hunting for *tadpoles*," and have had very good ſport: only at laſt the rain diſturbed it, juſt as I had found out the ſeat of their animal ſpirits.

INDIFF. Is it not a little too ſoon in the ſeaſon for *tadpoles?*

MOD. Something too ſoon; but a man is ſo ſatiated with the winter-ſports within doors, as *rat-catching*, *mouſe-flying*, *crevice-ſearching* for *ſpiders*, *cricket-diſſecting*, and the like [s]; that the ſpring leads us into the fields upon its firſt approaches.

publication of the "Laws of Hoel Dha;" which he did not live to finiſh, dying Feb. 13, 1726, at Buxted. The book was publiſhed in 1730, by Mr. William Clarke (afterwards chancellor of Chicheſter), who had married his daughter, and, by the Doctor's intereſt, had obtained the living of Buxted; which is now enjoyed by his only ſon, Mr. Edward Clarke.

r "This is what our age has ſeen; and it is not the leſs admirable be-"cauſe all of it perhaps cannot be made immediately uſeful to human life. "It is an excellent argument to prove, That it is not gain alone which "biaſſes the purſuits of the men of this age after knowledge; for here "are numerous inſtances of learned men, who, finding other parts of "natural learning taken up by men who in all probability would leave "little for after-comers, have, rather than not contribute their proportion "towards the advancement of knowledge, ſpent a world of time, pains, "and coſt, in examining the excreſcences of all the parts of trees, "ſhrubs, and herbs, in obſerving the critical times of the changes of all "ſorts of caterpillars and maggots; in finding out, by the knife and "microſcopes, the minuteſt parts of the ſmalleſt animals; examining every "crevice, and poring in every ditch; in tracing every inſect up to its "original egg; and all this with as great diligence, as if they had had "an Alexander to have given them as many talents as he is ſaid to have "given to his Maſter Ariſtotle." Reflections, p. 313, 314.

s P. 312.

INDIFF.

INDIFF. Pray, Sir, have you not ſome diverſions peculiar to the ſummer?

MOD. Oh! yes! infinite, infinite! *Maggots, flies, gnats, buzzes, chaffers, humble-bees, waſps, graſs-hoppers,* and in a good year *caterpillars in abundance.*

INDIFF. I thought ſome of theſe things did harm, eſpecially *maggots* and *caterpillars.*

MOD. How extremely a man may be miſtaken that has not learning! The moſt uſeful knowledge imaginable may be gathered from them by a Philoſopher. "Goedartius and Swammerdam became eminent for this buſineſs. Goedartius has "given exact hiſtories of the ſeveral changes of great numbers of "caterpillars into butterflies and worms, and maggots into flies, "which had never before been taken notice of as ſpecifically "different[t]."

INDIFF. You inform me of things I was not ſo well verſed in before.

MOD. A friend of mine has ſtudied "all thoſe excreſcences "and ſwellings which appear in ſummer-time upon the leaves of "tender twigs, fruits, and roots of many trees, ſhrubs, and herbs, "from whence ſeveral ſorts of inſects ſpring, which are all cauſed "by eggs laid there by full-grown inſects of their own kinds[u]." Another friend of mine has made "many obſervations upon in"ſects that live and are carried about upon the bodies of other "inſects[w];" and oftentimes upon the bodies of rational beings: whence he has given admirable reaſons, why idle dirty boys ſcratch their heads, and beggars ſhrug their ſhoulders. "He has exa"mined likewiſe abundance of thoſe inſects which are believed "to be produced from the putrefaction of fleſh; thoſe he found "to grow from eggs laid by other inſects of the ſame kinds[x]." He told, me they were a very prolific and voracious ſort of animal; and that, as for their eggs, a butcher would not give a groat for ten millions of them.

INDIFF. So that, it ſeems, the Ancients eat their meat as ſoon as they had killed it; but in after-ages the women, not being ſo good houſe-wives, left the "maggots of putrified meat" to be diſcerned by the glaſſes of their huſbands!

[t] Reflections, &c. p. 310, 311. [u] P. 310. [w] Ibid.
[x] P. 309.

MOD.

MOD. You ſeem to ſmile.

INDIFF. I proteſt, Sir, I am as grave as the things you diſcourſe of will poſſibly give me leave. You may imagine I am better bred than to laugh at a man that talks ſeriouſly as you do, in my conſcience.

MOD. I am very glad to find you ſo well diſpoſed. "For I "think that all theſe excellent men do highly deſerve commenda-"tion, for theſe ſeemingly uſeleſs labours; and the more, ſince "they run the hazard of being laughed at by men of wit. For "nothing wounds ſo much as jeſt; and when men once become "ridiculous, their labours will be ſlighted, and they will find "few imitators. Hor far this may deaden the induſtry of the "Philoſophers of the next age, is not eaſy to tell [y]."

INDIFF. I hope I ſhall be no occaſion of ſo great a miſchief as "the deadening the induſtry of the Philoſophers" in a deſign ſo truly noble. But, pray, ſince you have been ſo kind to inform me, let me underſtand ſomething farther concerning the knowledge of the Ancients; for I hitherto took them to be "men of "letters."

MOD. Scarce that, Sir; for I take Grammar to be neceſſary in the firſt place.

INDIFF. Certainly, Sir.

MOD. Now I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that, if *a ſtranger* underſtand the language of a native better than the native himſelf, he ought to be preferred to him. Now I dare confidently affirm, "that the Scholars of latter ages, as Sanctius, Scioppius, "Caninius, and Clenard, have given evident proofs how well "they underſtood the Greek and Latin tongue. Beſides, there "are abundance of Grammatical Treatiſes, ſuch as Scholia upon "difficult Authors, Gloſſaries, Onomaſticons, Etymologicons, "Rudiments of Grammar, and the like. From all which, there "ſeems reaſon to believe that theſe Criticks may have under-"ſtood grammatical conſtruction of Latin, as well as Varro and "Cæſar; and of Greek, as well as Ariſtarchus or Herodian [z]."

INDIFF. I had always ſuch an honour for Cæſar, that I thought he was beyond being compared with Scioppius. But, if it is ſo, I ſhall reſt contented.

MOD. It cannot well be otherwiſe, ſeeing there has been extraordinary induſtry uſed in theſe latter ages; inſomuch that

[y] Reflections, &c. p. 27. 419. [z] P. 58.

"volumes

"volumes have been written againſt ſome letters; and in favour "of H and Z," that were in difficult circumſtances.

INDIFF. I am glad *thoſe letters* got the better; for I have always had a particular reſpect for them.

MOD. As for Cæſar, poor gentleman! he is not ſo much to be blamed: for he did what he could, conſidering the age he lived in. But that age, which others think ſo great for learning and empire, lay under ſeveral apparent diſadvantages; for I have often read Xenophon, Polybius, Tully, and Tacitus, to ſee what *rags* might have been among the Ancients: but I cannot find (though I learn from Terence they had ſome) what uſe they put them to. It is demonſtration that they made "no paper of their "linen rags [a];" and Cæſar, when he had ſubdued France, and wrote his Commentaries, could not have *printed them*, if he would have pawned his conqueſts.

INDIFF. Were they ſo unhappy in all other matters?

MOD. Yes, Sir; I really pity the Ancients, as to their *opticks*, *divinity*, *tobacco*, *cyder*, *coffee*, *punch*, *ſugar*, and ſeveral other things, of which they were ignorant.

INDIFF. As how, Sir, I beſeech you?

MOD. It is undoubtedly to be believed "that ſpectacles were "not ancienter than Friar Bacon [b];" inſomuch that it muſt be a great loſs to learning, when old gentlewomen could not record their *receipts* to poſterity. Beſides, it is certain "that Monſieur "Nuck firſt found out how the watery humour of the Eye may "be and is conſtantly ſupplied; for he diſcovered a particular "canal of water, ariſing from the internal carotidal artery, "which, creeping along the ſclerotic coat of the eye, perforates "the Cornea near the pupil, and then, branching itſelf curiouſly "about the Iris, enters into and ſupplies the watery humour [c]."

INDIFF. The moſt ignorant may apprehend this very eaſily.

MOD. To paſs by the "Philological Learning of the Moderns [d]," I cannot but pity the Ancients as to their Divinity. "They did "not make controverſies ſo eaſy as the Moderns; and the Fa-"thers, eſpecially St. Chryſoſtom, ſeem to have been but indif-"ferent Preachers."

INDIFF. Hold, Sir, I beſeech you! Do as you pleaſe as to other things: but do not intermeddle with Religion. I, who am

[a] Reflections, &c. p. 15. [b] P. 189, 190. [c] P. 219.
[d] P. 374. See chap. xxix. throughout.

a Lay-

a Layman, will as ſoon give you leave to publiſh Apollonius Tyanæus. But, pray Sir, to proceed, let me hear what you have to ſay as to their *tobacco*.

MOD. "Certainly, that *tobacco* ought here to be mentioned, "can be queſtioned by none who know what a delight and re- "freſhment it is to ſo many nations, ſo many ſeveral ways. So "that, from Virginia and Brazil, we may be aſſured that the "modern huſbandry is a larger, if not a more exact, thing than "the ancient[e]." It is ſtrange to think what inconveniences they were put to: Socrates was forced to ride upon a hobby-horſe, and Scipio and Lælius to play with bounding-ſtones; becauſe none of them had the happineſs "to blow a pipe with "their neighbours."

INDIFF. This was extremely hard for men of their quality!

MOD. It was the fault of their gardens.

INDIFF. I thought "their gardens had been extremely fine, "being ſpacious plots of ground, fitted and ſurrounded with "ſtately walks of plantanes, built round with portico's, finely "paved, noble rows of pillars, with fiſh-ponds, aviaries, foun- "tains, and ſtatues[f]."

MOD. This is true. But then, "where were their Auriculas, "Tulips, Carnations, Jonquills, Narciſſuſes, and that almoſt "infinite diverſity of beautiful and odoriferous flowers that now "adorn our gardens? Beſides, we have no reaſon to think they "underſtood much of that beautiful furniture which Dwarfs "and Ever-greens afford us[g]."

INDIFF. Their gardens then could never have been pleaſant!

MOD. Impoſſible; when, inſtead of the ſweet-ſmelling Holly, the ſhady Juniper, the beautiful Houſe-leek, the moſt fragrant Box-trees in pots, they (like our Engliſh anceſtors) had nothing but huge Walnut, Cheſnut, and Warden-pear and Pippin-trees, in their orchards, as high as their garret windows. But to return to *tobacco*: their want of that ſpoilt all their wit, judgement, and induſtry; for, conſequently, they could have no *tobacco-boxes*, *tobacco-ſtoppers*, or *ſnuff-boxes*, all which are the teſts and indications of a man's genius. A large *tobacco-box* ſhews a man of great and extenſive trade and converſation; a ſmall one, well japanned, ſhews a gentleman of good-humour, that would avoid ſmoaking for the ſake of the ladies, and yet, out of complaiſance,

[e] Reflections, &c. p. 298. [f] P. 302. [g] P. 304, 305.

does

does it to oblige the perſons he converſes with. So, as to *ſtoppers*, if made of the Royal Oak, it ſhews *loyalty*; Glaſtonbury-thorn, *zeal extraordinary*; a piece of pipe, *humility*; ſilver, *pride*; black-thorn, *adverſity*; and the uſe of the little-finger, if the pipe be well-lighted, *great patience*. *Snuff-boxes* were likewiſe wanting to the Ancients; ſo that I cannot imagine how they could well have a beau among them. The largeneſs of a *ſnuff-box* is a great recommendation to a young gentleman. I knew a perſon who got a great fortune by the merit of the ſpring and joint of his *ſnuff-box*; the charms of it were irreſiſtible. I would ſooner take my character of a man from the engraving, painting, enameling of his *ſnuff-box*, and the choice of his *orangerie* and *bergamot*, than from his diſcourſe and writings.

INDIFF. I could not have thought the Ancients had been ſo barbarous!

MOD. Why then, Sir, I muſt declare freely, that I take them to have been the moſt miſerable people in the world. For as for *coffee*, the moſt wholeſome and pleaſant liquor in the world, they had not "one drop of it;" which was the reaſon why Cato, one of their wiſeſt men, was ſo often overtaken with "his wine[h]." Indeed, what was an Empreſs without her *tea-table?* what converſation could ſhe have? I have known ladies that would not have rivaled Statira in the favour of Alexander, if they might not have had their quart of *chocolate* in a morning. But then it was impoſſible for the Greeks or Romans to have had any good Sea-commanders, ſince they could not have had any *aqua vitæ* or *brandy*; "for the Arabs firſt extracted vinous ſpirits from fer-"mented liquors."

INDIFF. But then they had a vaſt affluence of other delicacies for the uſe of human life.

MOD. Truly but moderate as to them; for, in the firſt place, "they had no cyder; at leaſt the method of chuſing the beſt ap-"ples, ſuch as red-ſtreaks, was unknown to them[i]."

INDIFF. Why then I had rather have been Under-ſheriff of Herefordſhire, than have had the univerſal votes of the Roman Senate to have been Proconſul of Aſia!

MOD. But I will ſuppoſe they had ſeveral delicious dainties. Yet what did they all ſignify without "Sugar, which they did

[h] Reflections, &c. p. 298, 299. [i] P. 296.

"not

"not know how to prepare [k]." Apicius was a man that underſtood eating after their faſhion [l]; but it was coarſe and ungenteel. Nothing that could be called a *ſweet-meat* came to his table. Nay they were ſo unhappy, that, when Cleopatra treated Antony with that which they then reputed to be luxury, "ſhe was not "able, when he came in *hot*, to make him a *cool tankard*;" nay, ſhe had not "an orange or lemon" to her veal [m]; not a good glaſs of "ſmall-beer or oat-ale" at the table; no "roſe-water "to her codlings [n];" no "China orange" for her deſert, nor "orange-flower-water" to waſh with after dinner.

INDIFF. Theſe things would put any perſon into a paſſion! I ſhall endeavour to wait upon you ſome other time, to learn more of ſo kind an inſtructor.

MOD. I ſhall be glad to communicate (though it were a large Volume of this kind) to the publick upon occaſion. In the mean time, I think I have demonſtrated, from the *ditches*, *crevices*, *tadpoles*, *ſpiders*, *divinity*, *catterpillars*, *opticks*, *maggots*, *tobacco*, *flies*, *oranges*, *lemons*, *cyder*, *coffee*, and *linen-rags*, of the Moderns, that "the extent of knowledge is at this time vaſtly greater than "it was in former ages [o]."

DIALOGUE X.

THE DISSERTATOR.

MAC FLECKNOE—DECKER.

DECK. YOU ſeem thoughtful, Brother Flecknoe.

FLECK. Yes, I am thoughtful.

DECK. What may you have been doing?

FLECK. Doing! Why the ſame as other learned men do. I have been ſtudying a great while, and doing nothing; for, to tell

[k] Reflections, &c. p. 217.

[l] This ſubject is prettily enlarged upon in Lord Lyttelton's Nineteenth Dialogue; between APICIUS and DARTENEUF, of famous memory as Epicures.

[m] Reflections, &c. p. 305. [n] P. 204, 305, 397. [o] P. 405.

you

you the truth, Brother Decker, I have been conſidering why the world ſhould think my Poems or your Works to be dull.

DECK. Why, if I had had the advantage of French dancing-maſters, Italian eunuchs, and fine ſcenes, my Plays might, for the ſenſe of them, have taken as much as ſome modern Operas. But,

" Our aged fathers came to plays for wit,
" And ſat knee-deep in nutſhells in the pit.
" Coarſe hangings then, inſtead of ſcenes, were worn;
" And Kidderminſter did the Stage adorn [p]."

And then Jonſon and the reſt of the Criticks were all my enemies; but I took heart of grace, as well knowing that Criticks were the ſcourge, and I the top:

" For, as a top will ſpin the more you baſte her;
" So, every laſh they gave, I wrote the faſter [q]."

But what think you of the great Critick Bentivoglio?

FLECK. Why, I think my Epigrams to be as witty as thoſe he has retrieved from " his manuſcript Anthology:" only the ſenſe is more obſcured by the Greek, and mine lies more open, becauſe they are in my native language. Would any one but turn my verſes into Greek, I would play them againſt ever a Callimachus, Dioſcorides, Simonides, or Noſſis, of them all [r]. I have taken the pains to tranſlate one or two of them that are moſt admired by Bentivoglio.

DECK. I have been upon the ſame Author. I have read above a hundred pages of him, about " the age of Comedy and " Tragedy:" and, as we Wits are apt to be fired with emulation, ſo I have made ſome few notes towards an Eſſay, endeavouring at " a Diſſertation concerning Puppet-ſhews: which Remarks I will oblige you with, if you will pleaſe to communicate one of your Epigrams to me.

FLECK. You know, Brother, I cannot deny you any thing. Sir, the caſe was this: Callimachus made an Epigram, as it was ſuppoſed, upon a Shipwreck. " The learned Madam Dacier " was betrayed into this miſtake, by the Greek word *epelthon*; " and ſo was the Cretick Bentivoglio [s]:" till at laſt, by the ſaga-

[p] Prologue to " The Generous Enemy."
[q] Epilogue to " The Maiden-Queen." By a Perſon of Honour.
[r] Pref. p. lix. Diſſ. p. 209. 233. 302. 356, 355. 458, 459.
[s] Pref. p. lix.

city

city of his parts and the ſtrength of his genius, he found out that Callimachus did not write upon a *ſhipwreck*, but a *ſalt-ſeller*; and that "Eudemus muſt not be ſuppoſed to be delivered from "ſtorms at ſea; but that, owing a great many debts, he paid them "off, by living ſparingly upon bread and ſalt, the diet of poor "people; and, in memory of it, he dedicated his *ſalt ſeller* to the "Samothracian gods. The Epigram, he ſays, is very ingenious; "and the humour lies in the double-meaning; and likeneſs of ſome "Greek words, and the whole is a *parodia*." If you pleaſe, you ſhall have a tranſlation that I have made of it:

"Eudemus, eating little ſalt, ſet free
"From great and dangerous ſtorms of uſury,
"To Samothracian gods, like honeſt *ſeller*,
"Preſerv'd by ſalt, here offers his *ſalt-ſeller*."

DECK. I ſuppoſe Eudemus was a countryman; and therefore you uſe the word *feller* rather than *fellow*, out of choice, and not becauſe the rhyme conſtrained you to it.

FLECK. You take me right.

DECK. Well, if we were not of neceſſity to commend the wit of the Ancients, eſpecially when reſtored by learned hands, I could have admired one of your Epigrams as much as this. Since you have been ſo obliging, I muſt perform my promiſe, although I have made but a ſmall ſketch, concerning Puppet-ſhews: "It is wonderful to think that we ſhould have ſo little an account "among the Ancients of a matter of ſuch moment: no periods "of time fixed, no marble extant, nor any Manuſcripts, concern-"ing theſe little machines which approach human nature in the "next degrees to monkies [t]. I have often reproved the negli-"gence of the magiſtrate upon this occaſion, that no memorials "ſhould have been kept in their public archives: no, not ſo "much as in the Pie-powder-court [u] at Smithfield. I am ſenſi-"ble that, "when I print my Diſſertation, I ſhall detain the "Reader very long upon this ſubject, though I hope the pleaſure "and importance of it will excuſe the prolixity [w]." When fair "Roſamond firſt appeared as a puppet, there was nothing between "her and the ſpectator, to hinder or amuſe the eye-ſight [x]. Sandy's

[t] Puppet-ſhews. Diſſ. p. 309.
[u] Which was inſtituted to regulate diſputes in fairs and markets.
[w] Diſſ. p. 309. [x] Schol. Ariſt. Hephæſt.

"water-works

"water-works at firſt had the ſame ſimplicity; but the water "flowing perpetually gave the ſpectators great diverſion. After- "wards *ſtrings* were found out by Devaux, and ſeveral other "ſcenes were introduced: the French court was repreſented, "ſarabands were danced; and Punch appeared, with quick and "lively motion in his eyes, activity in his geſture, and vivacity "of wit in his expreſſions [y]. Devaux increaſed the ſtature of "the puppets, to almoſt the bigneſs of children; but that was "after he had repreſented that admirable deſign of "*Love* in a "*pipkin* [z]:" though I muſt confeſs that, after this, the Dutch "fight was repreſented, and ſeveral men of war were ſunk, with "their admiral, in an open ciſtern. Afterwards, as the luxury "of the age increaſed, they brought artificial butterflies upon "the ſtage; and ſerpents iſſued from Punch's eyes, to the amaze- "ment of the ſpectators [a]. Then Sedgemore came to the public "view; guns in miniature managed the attack; and bells, of "the bigneſs of thoſe at horſes-ears, proclaimed the triumph. "Thus they ran on to exceſs, and conſequently to poverty and "licentiouſneſs [b]: till at laſt the operator was forced to ſnow "brown paper inſtead of white; and Merry Andrew, who managed "the mob without doors, was ſent to Bridewell, for making "free with his betters." All this I deſign to illuſtrate with infinite ſcraps of loſt Authors, and innumerable quotations.

FLECK. The deſign is moſt admirable. When you publiſh, I will be ready with a copy of encomiaſticks. In the mean time, let me repeat you another Epigram.

DECK. You know at all times how to be agreeable.

FLECK. There was one Noſſis, a Poetreſs little known in the world, who might have lain ſtill in obſcurity if Bentivoglio had not diſcovered her. He found out, "that ſhe was a Locrian; "that ſhe lived about the hundred and fourth Olympiad. Her "mother's name was Theuphilis, and Cleocha was her grand- "mother [c]."

DECK. Great diſcoveries! of a greater family!

FLECK. Nay, farther, "ſhe had a daughter called Melinna; "or ſhe might not have a daughter ſo called, as a Mſ. Epigram "ſeems to ſhew: for it is poſſible ſhe may mean there another's "daughter, and not her own." This Epigram Bentivoglio com-

[y] Suid. in Prat. [z] Schol. Pin. Tzetz. [a] Plut. [b] Athen.
[c] Diſſ. p. 355, 356.

mends for its ſingular elegance. I have endeavoured that it may not loſe any ſpirit by my verſion:

" Melinna's ſelf! How charming is the face,
" How ſoft the look, how tender every grace!
" The daughter's features do the mother's ſtrike,
" How fine for parents to have children like!"

DECK. Why this is the common flattery of the midwife at every goſſiping!

FLECK. Beſides, the Epigram contradicts the known Proverb, " That boys ſhould be like the mother, and girls their fathers, if " born to good fortune." Indignation hereupon flung my Muſe into this ſarcaſtic Epigram:

" Melinna is ſo like her mother, may be
" It may forbode no kindneſs to the baby—
" Boys ſhould be like the mother; girls ſhould rather
" (If they would fortune have) be like their father."

DECK. Since you have obliged me ſo much, Brother Flecknoe, I cannot but communicate to you another Eſſay of mine, concerning Strolers: " Greece is happy that it can ſettle the time " when a Stage was fixed by Æſchylus, and Theſpis's cart became " to be diſuſed [d]. But it is not ſo with the Britons; for indeed " their Stage has never been ſo managed, but that ſtrolers or am- " bulatory repreſentations have had great ſhare in their inter- " ludes [e]. The " Waſſail" has been as ancient as the Saxons [f] " It is a Lyric poem, compoſed in honour of the good-man and " dame of the family. Sometimes it entered into affairs of ſtate, " and ſang of King Henry and the Miller; the Amours of King " Edward and Jane Shore, together with her Misfortunes [g]. " Sometimes it ſpake of heroic actions, as Chevy Chace and " the London Prentice [h]. It generally concluded with the praiſe " of hoſpitality and good houſe-keeping; and preſenting one " bowl of liquor, in hopes of having it repleniſhed with an- " other [i]. It was ſung by one voice, ſometimes relieved by a " ſecond; and oftentimes perſons of leſs ſkill were able ſo to " join as to fill up the Chorus. The Ode began at the veſtibule " or porch of each conſiderable Farmer in the Pariſh; and the " Epilogue was generally performed, with *minced-pyes* and *roaſt-* " *beef*, in the hall of the ſame manſion [k]. Afterwards, when the

[d] Plut. [e] Tzetz. [f] Verſteg. [g] Athen.
[h] Suid. [i] Schol. Ariſt. [k] Longin.

" Pariſh-

" Pariſh-clerks of London [l] had for a great while together acted " ſeveral interludes; the Clerks and Sextons of the villages [m] " thought themſelves not to be outdone in ingenuity, and there- " fore revived that diverſion of Mumming, the original of which " is obſcure, at leaſt muſt be ſearched for in Germany, where it " continues in perfection. Theſe appeared with maſks and un- " uſual habits, leſt otherwiſe the meanneſs of their perſons might " take away from the character of thoſe they repreſented. The " actors ſeldom more than three; they generally went firſt to the " lord of the manor, their place of action in the parlour, and " their reward uſually enlarged with *plumb-porridge* and *cold* " *pudding*. Another ſort of Interlude is the acting of Proverbs [n]: " its antiquity is obſcure; it is an extempore Drama, the number " of its actors uncertain. They generally conſiſt of the children, " ſervants, and tenants of a family; and their reward *good chear* " in general. There are very few of theſe, if any of the two " latter, committed to writing. The two former ſeemed to have " a ſtated time, as Chriſtmas, for their performance; the latter to " have been occaſional, as wit and good-humour offered. The " Whitſun-ale ſeems to have been of the next age to the Waſſail [o]. " The lord and lady, their hall, their hoſpitality of cakes and " ale, their ſon, their pages, their organs, added extremely to the " grandeur of their performance; their place of action generally " ſome barn or out-houſe, for the conveniency of reception; not " but that the whole company go round to the neighbouring " gentry, where the action, beſides the moris-dancing, ſeems to be " *mono-proſope*; the whole lies upon my Lord's ſon, who raiſes " mirth by Proverbs, Riddles, Comic and Satirical expreſſions [p], " not without the applauſe of his parents and their pages. The " reward is generally *cool ale*, with *borage* and *ſugar*, *gammon* of " *bacon*, and *new cheeſe-cakes*. But to come to the more perfect " art of the Stage. Our Anceſtors, knowing what they were " wanting in, generally contrived their Drama ſo as to have leaſt " need of decoration; of this ſort is " Gammar Gurton's Needle," " where the whole *epitrope*, or turn of affairs, depending upon " Hodge's being pricked with the needle in his leathern breeches, " ſaves the trouble of coſtly ſcenes and machines. " Grim the " Collier of Croydon," though of later date, yet had the ſame

[l] Rymer. [m] Cato de Re Ruſtica. [n] Mr. Ray's Proverbs.
[o] Verſteg. [p] Spel. Gloſſ.

" advantage: and conſequently both were acted in any place, as " there was occaſion. " Criſpin and Criſpianus" coſt ſome more " trouble: the Princes could ever borrow their tools from any " journey-man ſhoe-maker; but then the robes and decorations of " the Queens and Nobles were forced to be carried up and " down in knapſacks. Notwithſtanding the Stage had been ſet- " tled for many years, yet the art of ſtroling did and will ſtill con- " tinue: nor has Shakeſpeare thought it unfit to introduce it as a " beauty in his Play of " Hamlet." Nay, in theſe later times, the " New-market company has diverted corporation after corpora- " tion; and, for the uſe of the Town-hall, placed the Mayor, his " lady, and offspring, in the ſide-boxes for nothing. Bateman " has not diſdained to go from Smithfield to Southwark, and " often down to Sturbridge. Nay, greater perſons have, from " the glories of the Theatre, retired into the country; where the " Kings of Brentford have been forced in the Rehearſal to come " in the common way, for want of clouds to come down withal; " and the famous Othello, together with his father Brabantio in " a callico night-gown, have pleaded their cauſe before a Venetian " Senate, aſſembled in a place little bigger than a parlour-chim- " ney." I have ſhewn you my draught; which I deſign to il- luſtrate with the Chronology of each Play, and an account of ſuch Interludes as have been acted upon the ſtages of Mounte- banks; which had infallibly been loſt, if they had not been col- lected into one volume, by the induſtrious Mr. Kirkman [q], about the middle of this laſt century.

DECK. Very natural, I proteſt. You will oblige the world extremely with theſe works.

FLECK. Well, Brother Decker, let us remain in hopes. Who knows what time may do, as to the retrieving or gaining a reputa- tion? You have uſed hard words; and they may ſtir up the ſpirit of ſome perſon, in times to come, to write a Scholiaſt upon

[q] Francis Kirkman, bookſeller, and partner with Richard Head. He was famous for publiſhing plays, farces, and drolls; and dealt as largely in drollery of various kinds as Curl did in bawdry and biography. Kirkman, indeed, had no objection to trading in the former commodity, if he thought it would turn the penny. He has given us Memoirs of his own Life, and probably led the way to John Dunton. He alſo publiſhed a book, called " The Wits, or Sport upon Sport," with his head prefixed. It is inſcribed, " F. K. citizen of London." Granger, vol. IV. p. 58.

you

you as well as Ariſtophanes, and that may be a Rival to the laborious Tzetzes. Who knows but I may have the fate of Noſſis; and ſome Library-keepers, among his duſt, finding me out of print, may oblige the world with a new edition of my works, and diſcover that wit and elegancy which was denied me by my cotemporaries!

DIALOGUE XI[r].

SHEWING THE WAY TO MODERN PREFERMENT.

SIGNIOR INQUISITIVO—DON SEBASTIANO DES LOS MUSTACHIEROS—SIGNIOR CORNARO—MUSTAPHA.

INQ. PRAY, gentlemen, have a little more patience with one another; you do not imagine the danger that may be in quarreling here amongſt the ſhades below. Let me be ſo happy as to compoſe the difference.

SEB. To take the right-hand of a perſon of my quality!

CORN. To affront a perſon that has made ſuch a figure in the other world as I have done!

INQ. Dear gentlemen, I believe neither of you knew the other's quality. It is uſual here, where Death makes us all equal, and where I ſhall be glad to make all friends. I long to know to what perſons I am about to do ſo good an office.

SEB. Then, Sir, I do let you know, that I was Don Sebaſtiano des los Muſtachieros, a favourite and prime miniſter to Cardinal Porto-carero, that great Prelate, who hath diſpoſed of ſo large a ſhare of the univerſe, and is the *padrone* of the greateſt monarchs.

CORN. Why then I likewiſe let you know, that I was Signior Cornaro. My friend was the preſent Pope Innocent XI. He has been beholden to me for many good offices done him, both before and ſince he came to the papacy; nor durſt any man in Rome have affronted me.

INQ. Why then, gentlemen, we of this world may hope to hear ſomething of importance from the other, when two ſuch great miniſters arrive here.

SEB. I muſt own, I have received returns of gratitude from the Cardinal, for the ſervices I have done, which were daily; but the frequency of them did not make them the leſs regarded by his Excellency. O heavens! how often have I ſmoothed thoſe hairs, which the cares of ſo great a monarchy had ruffled! and

[r] This is printed as a "Dialogue of the Dead," though of a different ſpecies from the preceding TEN.—It was publiſhed long before the others; but the preciſe time does not appear, any nearer than that it was in the Pontificate of Innocent XI; which began in 1689, and ended in 1691.

how

how have I ſtiffened and exalted the ſame muſtachios, to the terror of his enemies!—I have eaſed that mouth which is the oracle of the Indies; and, when the mines of Potoſi could not have ſent relief, by the extraction of one ſingle *oſſicle*, too ſmall to be called a tooth, I have raiſed new harmony in all his fibres. By ſuch great actions I firſt gained his eſteem, till, being afterwards received into his privacies, I envied not the ſtate of a Grandee; who might cover before the king, but muſt have been uncovered to me, if he hoped for any admittance to the Cardinal.

CORN. It is true, Sir, you have done ſervice in the world. But what is that like having been placed in Rome, the ſeat of empire? By my friendſhip, Cardinals have been able to tread the Vatican, and there undertake the protection of crowned heads; which might have ſunk, had not I eradicated thoſe painful excreſcences which hindered the progreſſion of their patrons. Ambaſſadors have often waited in the papal anti-chamber, till this hand had performed its due operation upon that toe, before which even their maſters in their utmoſt grandeur muſt fall down and venerate.

INQ. How happy am I, after death! In the other world, I might have ſearched long enough before I might have found out Cardinal Porto-Carero's tooth-drawer and Pope Innocent's corn-cutter together at one interview. But, ſince I have that good fortune, pray let me know which way, from ſuch beginnings, you might riſe to the height of empire, as I perceive both of you have done?

SEB. Eaſily, Sir, very eaſily.

CORN. Aye, Sir, very eaſily.

SEB. But you muſt think we had our methods. I began firſt with my fellow-ſervants and tradeſmen—his razors had the worſt ſort of ſteel in them—his ſciſſars were dear, and of no uſe—his waſh-balls not perfumed, and intolerable—but he had ſerved his Eminence many years, and I might be too bold in finding fault with him.—When this takes, then I begin my management at home—Diego does not come with the water—Jaccomo has not made the lather—Franciſco never bruſhes the combs.

INQ. Very political! "Little ſervices moſt oblige great perſonages," ſays a learned Author.

SEB. Thus I make footing for my own creatures; never ſuch perfumes as thoſe of Don Balthaſar—Don Fernandes goes himſelf

ſelf for all his ſnuff to the Indies—never ſuch a diligent creature as the little Jaquinello—Ricardo is never abſent.

CORN. It is very true that a ſettled miniſtry muſt depend upon the friendſhip of inferiors.

SEB. In a little time, my creatures had a correſpondence from the Cardinal's beard to the very foot of the ſtair-caſe. According to the cue, his Eminence has not ſlept well to-night; he ſeems not to be in good humour; nothing has been called for. But my little miniſters never carry any thing from me but what is fatal. Your care leſt you ſhould diſturb his Eminence ſhall be interpreted as your neglect of duty; your fear of his bad humour ſhall put him into one. Thus commanding at home, I extend my powers abroad, and great perſons muſt be ſubject to the ſame laws as their inferiors; and when I can diſpoſe (though but in appearance) of ſuch private minutes, there is nothing in publick but muſt fall under my power.

INQ. Had I received your inſtructions in the other world, I might have much improved upon them. But, Signior Cornaro, you ſeem thoughtful.

CORN. You have been diſcourſing how much ſmall things may be improved; and I have been caſting up how much I have been able to make of a corn. When the world was intent upon the Pope's counſels, to ſee which he would moſt incline to, either the intereſt of the Auſtrian family, or elſe of France, in relation to the Spaniſh Monarchy—he calls to me one day, "Signior, "I have occaſion to make uſe of your fidelity. But dare you "bear ſcandal? dare you endure the cenſure of the world, and "that as long as I ſhall think it convenient for my ſervice?"—"Any thing," cry I, "may it pleaſe your Holineſs! ſo you "know it to be innocent."—"Why I muſt be indiſpoſed for ſome "time," ſays his Holineſs. I dare not truſt my phyſicians, leſt "they ſend me ſomething that may really diſpatch me. But thee "I can truſt; thou ſhalt ſuffer me to give out—but ſtay, here "are a thouſand crowns for thee—that, as thou wert cutting "my corns, thy knife ſlipt, and made a wound ſo uneaſy to me, "that walking may be dangerous."—It was done; for who dares diſobey his Holineſs? I had immediately the whole concourſe of Rome about me. "Is it not enflamed, moſt noble Cornaro? "When will he be able to walk? when to give audience? I "have a petition; and ſhall be ruined, if not delivered within "theſe

"theſe two days. Is nothing to be done in private, honeſt "Signior?" What with Cardinals, Secretaries, Imperial and Spaniſh factions, receiving preſents, and inwardly laughing at their folly, I was ſo far wearied, that I had almoſt reſolved to undeceive them. You may obſerve what a ſmall thing, in outward appearance, his Holineſs made uſe of to gain time, till he could ſee the various turns of affairs in the European ſtates, ſo as to be able to regulate his own counſels.

SEB. Fair and ſoftly, good Sir! I cannot ſay that I did ſo much good; but I occaſioned an equal proportion of diſturbance by as ſmall a matter. Being, by various methods too numerous to relate, admitted to Cardinal Porto-carero's cloſet, I one day ſaw a paper, beginning, "In the Name, &c." by which I ſuppoſed it the Cardinal's will: and the hopes of a legacy made me double my diligence. The Cardinal ſome days continued writing; and I going in to ſnuff the lights, he complained of his pen, and bad me mend it. Now that very pen (if all be true as the world ſays ſince) may have diſpoſed of Spain and both the Indies. However, it was not my buſineſs to enquire who made the late King of Spain's will. But it was happy for me: I had all the pretenders to preferment under Philip the Fourth to wait upon me in a morning. Vice-roys were my companions. "When "will his Eminency ſtir? Is he long a dreſſing? Who ſpeaks to "him firſt as he comes out of his cloſet? Could not you whiſper "him? Might not *this* make you my friend?"

CORN. Undoubtedly, Sir, you knew that, whilſt he was dreſſing, was the propereſt time to accoſt him. I have heard of a great Empreſs, Semiramis, who commanded ſuch mighty armies, that ſhe was forced to wear man's cloaths, to avoid the ſolicitations of her court-ladies: for, before that, ſhe had not a pin ſtuck in her but what coſt her a province, nor a lock curled but what coſt her two; and that, as women went then and go now, was pretty chargeable dreſſing every morning. But, bleſs me! who comes here? On my word, he has been terribly handled.

MUST. Yes, indeed, ill enough handled! I left my maſter's careaſe floating in a river, and have made the beſt of my way hither to provide for him.

INQ. Pray, Sir, who may have been your maſter?

MUST.

MUST. Why, Sir, he was the late Mufti of the Ottoman Empire. But the mob were pleaſed to dethrone the Sultan[s], to force away the Grand Vizir, and to do an extraordinary favour for my maſter, and more than ever had been done to a Mufti before; that is, to murder him, drag him about the ſtreets, throw him into a river (and, thank their civility!) to throw me after him.

INQ. Pray, Sir, what poſt might you have borne under him?

MUST. Poſt, Sir?—What poſt, Sir!—Why every poſt, from his cook to his receiver-general. Sir, I was a true ſervant fitting for a great man, and ready to execute every thing that his power might command, or his appetites deſire. My maſter, Sir, loved money; and had all the laws, both human and divine, of the Ottoman Empire, to diſpoſe of; and conſequently had the ſale of them: and, as I told you juſt now, I was his ſervant. The mob thought the Mufti was covetous, though I never found him ſo; and called me "his money-bag maker:" for, it is true, by education, I was a French taylor; but, not liking the trade, I ran away, was taken captive, turned Turk, had a kind maſter, under whom I made many a penny by interpreting the Alcoran: and I hoped to have retired with what I had to Italy; and there, as I was circumciſed, to have ended my days in peace, under the notion of a Jewiſh broker.—But it is ordered otherwiſe.

INQ. Well, I will retire, ſince my two late acquaintance have got ſo good a companion. Truly, three very famous men have found out three very hopeful miniſter! However, the poor fellows were not to be blamed; ſince they only uſed the readieſt means to modern preferments.

[s] Solyman III, who was depoſed in 1691, was ſucceeded by Achmet II. Hence this Dialogue appears to have been written in that year.

A JOURNEY

A JOURNEY TO LONDON[a],

In the Year 1698.

After the Ingenious Method of that made by Dr. MARTIN LISTER to PARIS, in the ſame Year, &c.

Written originally in French, by Monſieur SORBIERE; and newly tranſlated into Engliſh.

[a] The "Journey to London" may, if conſidered, ſeem a vindication of our own country; and may ſhew Britain as much preferable to France, as wealth, plenty, and liberty, are beyond tortoiſes hearts, champignons, and moriglio's; or the raiſing of two millions and two hundred thouſand pounds in a few hours is preferable to any coins of Zenobia, Oedenatus, and Vabalathus.

Dr. KING's Preface to his Miſcellanies.

Dr. King facetiouſly aſcribes this traveſtie to Mr. Sorbiere, who had given an account of England, full of miſtakes and miſrepreſentations, altogether trifling, and almoſt unintelligible; which he makes Dr. Liſter rival, eſpecially for the clearneſs of his expreſſion, elegance of his deſcription, and ingenious choice of his ſubjects. The witty irony runs through the ſeveral parts of Dr. Liſter's Journey, in the order in which they lie in the firſt edition. But, if Dr. King had waited a little, he would have been ſupplied with further matter of ridicule. Dr. Liſter publiſhed a ſecond edition of his Journey in 1699; wherein, upon occaſion of his "Synopſis Conchyliorum," printed at London in 1685, folio, he tells the following ſtory, which he had barely mentioned in p. 104, of the firſt edition, ſufficiently replete with vanity: "Monſ. Clement, Deputy Librarian to the King's Library, "having ſhewn me the Synopſis, I told him, I was ſorry to ſee "it there, and wondered how he came by it; for it was, I aſ"ſured him, but a very imperfect trial of the plates, which I "had diſpoſed of to ſome few friends only, till I ſhould be able "to cloſe and finiſh the deſign; which I now had done to my "power, and would redeem that book with a better copy at my "return to England.—The Reader (continues he) will pardon "me the vanity, if I tell him, that this book was no inconſider"able preſent, even for ſo great a prince as the king of France: "for that, beſides the time that it took me up (ten years at leaſt) "at leiſure hours, to diſpoſe, methodize, and figure, this part of "Natural Hiſtory, it could not have been performed by any "perſon elſe for leſs than 2000 pounds Sterling, of which ſum "yet a great part it ſtood me in out of my private purſe."

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

MONSIEUR SORBIERE,

TO THE

READER.

I AM reſolved to make no apology for this "ſhort account "of the magnificent and noble City of London," where you will meet with "nothing offenſive." And I think I have obſerved every thing that is remarkable in it. It would have been unpardonable in me, to have omitted any matters which the curious might be deſirous to know, having an inimitable pattern from one of that country lately [c], who, for

[b] A ſhort account of the real Sorbiere has been already given, p. 23.

[c] Dr. Martin Liſter.—This eminent Phyſician and Natural Philoſopher was born of Yorkſhire parents, ſettled in the county of Buckingham, about 1638. He was ſent to St. John's College, Cambridge, and obtained the degree of B. A. in 1658; and at the Reſtoration, in 1660, being a zealous Loyaliſt, was appointed Fellow by a royal mandamus. Two years afterward he proceeded M. A.; and, applying himſelf to Phyſick, travelled for improvement to France about 1668. He ſettled at York, in 1670, and followed his profeſſion with great ſucceſs. Employing his leiſure hours on ſubjects of Natural Hiſtory and Antiquity, he was choſen F. R. S. and in that learned body became very remarkable, by the great number of papers he communicated to them; near forty of which are printed in the Phil. Tranſ. from N° 25 to N° 585 incluſive, containing obſervations in Meteorology, Hydrology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology, Anatomy, Pharmacy, and Antiquities. He had before publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes upon Natural Hiſtory. In 1683, his friends prevailed on him to come to London; and, being created M. D. at Oxford by diploma, March 11 that year, he was ſhortly after elected a Fellow

for the clearneſs of his expreſſion, the elegancy of his deſcriptions, as well as ingenious choice of his ſubjects, deſerves a particular *ſalutation* from all the admirers of the *belles lettres* in the univerſe.

I might here take an opportunity to beg pardon of the Engliſh, for my miſrepreſentations thirty years ago[d]: but it is to be hoped this Book will make my peace with that nation. The following pages[e] will ſhew you the conſiderable heads I deſigned to treat of. And now I have paid my devoirs at the entrance, "I will not importune you any "longer."

Fellow of the College of Phyſicians. In the younger part of his life, he ſpared no pains in ſearching after natural and antique curioſities, traveling into ſeveral parts of England, particularly the North, for that purpoſe; but, his health being impaired after twenty-ſix years ſpent in this purſuit, and the buſineſs of his profeſſion engaging much of his time, he confined himſelf to a more ſedentary life, and drew up his medicinal obſervations, which he publiſhed, under the title of "Exercitationes Medi-"cinales," in 1697. The next year, attending the Earl of Portland in an embaſſy to the court of France, he ſtaid at Paris about ſix months; and, on his return, publiſhed an account of his journey, containing obſervations on the ſtate and curioſities of that metropolis. Theſe, being thought minute and trifling for a man of letters, produced this pleaſant traveſtie from our truly humourous Author. In 1709, he was appointed ſecond phyſician in ordinary to Queen Anne; an honour he enjoyed not long, dying in February, 1711-12, oppreſſed with age and infirmities. The moſt valuable of his works is his "Synopſis Conchyliorum," in two volumes folio, which are chiefly engraved from the drawings of his two daughters, now in the Aſhmolean Muſeum. This book has been lately re-publiſhed, with improvements, by Mr. Huddesford, keeper of that Muſeum.

[d] Alluding to the Journey of the real Sorbiere.

[e] See the Index annexed to this little Tract.

A JOUR-

A JOURNEY TO LONDON.

" THIS tract was written chiefly to ſatisfy my own curio-
" ſity p. 1 f;" and, being " in a place where I had little
" to do," I thought fit to write a Book for ſuch people as had idle time enough upon their hands to read it. " The Engliſh
" nation value themſelves upon" a plain honeſty, joined with hoſpitality. Theſe make them courteous to *ſtrangers*; but they are not very eaſy with their *curioſity*. For they do not " build and
" dreſs moſtly for figure," p. 1, " as the French, who are cer-
" tainly the moſt polite nation in the world, and can praiſe and
" court with a better grace than the reſt of mankind."

I did not intend to " put on the ſpectacles," p. 2, of " The
" preſent State of England," written by Dr. Chamberlain; nor any ſurvey of the ſame: for, truſting to my eyes, " I had a mind
" to ſee without them."

" But, to content you, Reader, I promiſe not to trouble you
" with ceremonies, either of ſtate, or church, or politicks," ibid. for, though I met with an Engliſh gentleman, who profered to ſhew me the princes of the blood, the prime miniſters of ſtate, the lord mayor and other officers belonging to " a city of ſo immenſe
" a greatneſs as that of London;" yet I refuſed the civility; and told him, " that I took more pleaſure to ſee honeſt John Sharp
" of Hackney, in his white frock, crying, Turneps, ho! four
" bunches a penny! than Sir Charles Cotterel making room for
" an ambaſſador; and I found myſelf better diſpoſed and more
" apt to learn the phyſiognomy of a hundred *weeds*, than of five
" or ſix princes." P. 3.

" I arrived at London, after a tedious journey, in bad weather;
" for I fell ſick upon the road, and lay dangerouſly ill of the
" *tooth-ach*." P. 4.

" I believe I did not ſee the tithe of what deſerves to be ſeen;
" becauſe for many things I wanted a reliſh, particularly for
" painting and building:" though I confeſs the grandeur of a

f The pages of reference throughout this tract correſpond to ſimilar paſſages in Dr. Liſter's " Journey to Paris."

city

city chiefly conſiſts in buildings; and I verily believe London to be one of "the moſt beautiful and magnificent in Europe." P. 5.

It is alſo moſt certain, that the common people of London live diſperſed in ſingle houſes; "whereas, in Paris, there are from "four to five and to ten menages, or diſtinct families, in many "houſes:" from whence I infer that, as to the commonalty, "Paris may be more populous than London," although perhaps their dwelling may not be ſo wholeſome and cleanly.

I found "the houſes ſome of hewn ſtone entire, ſome of brick "with free ſtone;" as "the Crown Tavern upon Ludgate Hill," and "the corner-houſe of Birchin Lane," and ſeveral others. P. 7.

Divers of the citizens houſes" have port-cochers, to drive in a "coach, or a *cart* either; and conſequently have courts within, "and moſtly remiſes to ſet them up." Such perſons as have no port-cochers, and conſequently no courts or remiſes, ſet up their coaches at other places, and let their horſes ſtand at livery. P. 8.

"The *cellar* windows of moſt houſes are grated with ſtrong "bars of iron," to keep thieves *out*; and Newgate is grated up to the top, to keep them *in*. "Which muſt be a vaſt expence!" Ibid.

"As the houſes are magnificent without," ſo they furniſh them within accordingly. But I could not find that they had any "bureaus of ivory." P. 9.

"Upon viewing the braziers and turners ſhops," I found it "true, what my countryman Monſieur Juſtel formerly told me, "that, according to his catalogue, there were near threeſcore "utenſils and conveniences of life more in England than in "France." But then the Engliſh, ſince the breach of their commerce with France, lie under great neceſſities of ſeveral commodities fitting for the eaſe and ſupport of human life, as "counterfeit pearl necklaces," p. 142, fans, tooth-picks, and tooth-pick-caſes; and eſpecially prunes, the calamity of which has been ſo great for ten years laſt paſt, that they have not had enough to lay round their plum-porridge at Chriſtmas.

I muſt, to give a faithful account, deſcend even to the kennels. "The gutters are deep, and lain with rough edges, which make "the coaches not to glide eaſily over them;" but occaſion an employment for an induſtrious ſort of people, called kennel-rakers.

"The

"The ſquares in London are many and very beautiful," as St. James's, Soho, Bloomſbury, Red-lion, Devonſhire "none of the "largeſt," and Hogſdon "not yet finiſhed." P. 10.

"But that which makes the dwelling in this city very diverting, "is the facility of going out into the fields;" as to Knightſbridge, where is an excellent ſpring-garden; to Mary le bon, where is a very good bowling-green; Iſlington, as famous for cakes, as Stepney or Chelſea is for buns. Ibid.

"But to deſcend to a more particular review of this great city, "I think it not amiſs to ſpeak firſt of the ſtreets," p. 11.

There are "coaches" in the ſtreets, "which are very numerous; "but the fiacres are not hung with double ſprings at the four "corners, which ſprings would inſenſibly break all jolts," p. 12. So that I found the caſe altered in England; and I, that had rather ride in a fiacre at Paris than in the eaſieſt chariot of a Lord Ambaſſador; to my great aſtoniſhment, at London, found that in a hackney coach there was "not a jolt but what affected a man;" from whence I drew theſe ſurprizing concluſions: Firſt, "that a "hackney is a miſerable *voiture*;" and next, "that a man may "be more tired in an hour in that, than in ſix hours riding in "my Lord Ambaſſador's eaſieſt chariot."

I ſaw a boy that had harneſſed two dogs, which drew a ſmall *voiture* with a burden in it; and I ſaw a little Maſter in a little *vinegrette*, "drawn along by two boys" much bigger than himſelf, and "puſhed behind by a maid." Theſe "I was willing to "omit, as thinking them at firſt ſight ſcandalous, and a very jeſt; "they being wretched buſineſſes in ſo magnificent a city," p. 13.

Finding "that neither poſt-chaiſes [g] nor *rouillions* were in uſe "in London;" I told them of them—"how both horſes pull, "but one only is in the thilles; how the coachman mounts the "*rouillion*, but for the chaiſe he only mounts the ſide horſe; "and that they might be introduced to good purpoſe." But I found the Engliſh curioſity ſo ſmall, that I did not ſee any *rouillion* made during my ſix months ſtay in London.

[g] The firſt coach ever publicly ſeen in England was the equipage of Henry Fitz-Alan, who became earl of Arundel in 1543, and died in 1579. That vehicle was invented by the French; who alſo invented the poſt-chaiſe, which was introduced by Mr. Tull, ſon of the well-known writer on huſbandry. Granger, vol. I. p. 193. The preſent age is alſo indebted to France for the introduction of the *diligence*.

"As for their recreations and walks; St. James's Park is "frequented by people of quality;" who, if they have a mind to "have better and freer air, drive to Hyde Park," where is a ring for the coaches to drive round; and hard by is Mrs. Price's, where are incomparable syllabubs. "Out of the other parts of "the town," they go to Hampstead and Cane Wood (an admirable place for nuts, as Mother Huff's for bottled ale), "scarce "any side amiss," p. 14. I had almost forgotten that in St. James's Park "are many seats, for the entertainment of all "people, the Lacqueys and mob excepted; but of this more here-"after."

"It is pretty to observe how the magistrates indulge the inha-"bitants of this great city, by this small instance:" for whereas "in Paris the King has caused the citizens to take down their "signs, and not to exceed a small measure of square;" in London, they may be of what measure they please, even to a monstrous bigness [h]; as my great curiosity observed, in the sign of the Ship Tavern, and the Castle Tavern in Fleet-street, which has almost *obscured* the Sun; and barbers hang out poles of a great huge length, almost as long as a mizen-mast, p. 16.

"There are a great many public Inns in London, where lodg-"ings are to be let;" as the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate-street, the Saracen's Head in Friday-street, the White Horse in Fleet-street, and others. But, besides these, there are divers other places so called; as Clifford's Inn, Clement's Inn, Lion's Inn, &c. where several "Gentlemen," practitioners of the law, reside. "This "seems as it were to denote" that heretofore Attorneys might lodge in "Public Inns" as well as other "strangers."

"In the river of Thames, both above bridge and below, are "vast numbers of boats, of wood, hay, charcoal, corn, wine, and "other commodities." When a frost comes, there are not so many. "But, when a thaw comes, they are often in danger of "being split and crushed to pieces;" and, upon my word, "there "have been great losses to the owners of such boats and goods" upon these occasions, p. 17. The reason why there are more boats below bridge than above, is because there is a Custom-house,

[h] Whether it be with a view to excel our polite neighbours or not, is immaterial; but these "signs of monstrous bigness" are in the present age totally annihilated.

which

which brings into the King of England a revenue able to defend the ſovereignty of the ſeas againſt any enemy whatſoever; and the reaſon why there lie ſo many hundred large veſſels of all ſorts, and of all nations, is becauſe they cannot get through bridge, *heigh!* and there are a great many light boats, loaden with brooms, gingerbread, tobacco, and a dram of the bottle, *ho!* Above bridge, is a vaſt boat, with a houſe upon it, and a garden in the garret; and further up the river, at Chelſea, is a land-ſhip, very large, built on purpoſe never to go to ſea.

There are "beggars" in London, and people whoſe neceſſities force them to aſk relief from ſuch as they think able to afford it, p. 20.

But there are no "Monks, who declare againſt marriage." And a certain learned perſon told me, that he did not like "ſtarved Monks;" but that he was for "free marriage;" and that "the fleſh-eaters will ever defend themſelves, if not beat "the lenten men." Therefore he was entirely for propagation, "that men might be like the ſtars in the firmament, or the ſhells "and ſand upon the ſea-ſhore," p. 21: and ſo, notwithſtanding any circumſtances of life, age, or fortune, ſhould marry; and that it was as prudent in an old man of threeſcore and ten, as in a youth of one and twenty.

"There is a great deal of noiſe in this city, of public cries of "things to be ſold, and great diſturbance from pamphlets and "hawkers. The Gazettes come out twice a week, and a great "many buy them." When a thing is loſt, they do not, as in Paris, put "a printed paper on the wall:" but, if it be of ſmall value, the bell-man cries it; and if it be a thing of greater moment, as for example a Lap-dog, &c. then they put it in the advertiſements.

"The ſtreets are lighted all the winter; but there is an imper-"tinent uſage of the people at London, not to light them when "the moon ſhines." They ridiculouſly defend themſelves, by ſaying they can ſee by moonſhine, and have no more reaſon to hold a candle to the moon than to the ſun. "There were "three young gentlemen of good families, in a frolick," went a ſcouring, "broke the lights," and were ſent to the Counter; "and could not be releaſed thence without diligent application "of friends," and paying garniſh to their fellow-priſoners, p. 23.

"The avenues to the city, and all the ſtreets, are paved with

" pebbles, flints, and rag-ſtones; and there is great care to keep " them clean. In winter, for example, upon melting of the " ice," you ſhall ſee all the prentices and porters up in arms, with brooms and paring-ſhovels, " ſo that, in a few hours time, " all parts of the town are to admiration clean and neat again to " walk on," p. 24.

" I could heartily wiſh" I had been at London " in ſummer," to have ſeen whether they have " more duſt" at London than in Paris, p. 25. I have notwithſtanding, in my *curious* enquiries after " duſt," found that there are many duſt-carts about the town; and there are ſeveral women that take delight, and, as I have heard, pay money to ride in them. A fine lady about the town was taken thence; and, upon her change of clean linen, took upon herſelf the title of Clinderaxa.

There are ſeveral ſtatues, at Charing-Croſs, in the City, and at the Exchange: but my reliſh being not for Art, but Nature, as I have before declared, I think fit to meddle with them as little as I can.

I happened to go with a lady to Hyde Park Corner, where in an open area we ſaw ſeveral naked ſtatues; at which ſhe, " out " of a fond humour, or hot fit of devotion," p. 29, took ſome offence. I told her, " Cicero ſomewhere ſays, that ſome of " the ancient wiſe men thought there was nothing naturally ob- " ſcene; but that every thing might be called by its own name," p. 30. She told me, I was making an apology for talking obſcenely. I replied, No; but added, " Why ſhould nudity be " ſo offenſive, ſince a very great part of the world yet defies " cloaths, and ever did ſo; and the parts they do moſt affect to " cover, are from a certain neceſſity only?" Ibid. At which ſhe bluſhed; and I, for the ſake of further diſcourſe, began a long ſtory about Roman cloaths; and told her, " a Roman was as " ſoon undreſſed as I can put off my gloves and ſhoes: for he " had nothing to do but to looſe the girdle of the Tunica, and to " draw up both his arms from under the Tunica," p. 31; and he was in bed immediately: whereas I had a hundred fatigues to undergo, as unbuttoning my collar, untying my knee-ſtrings, and ſeveral other things that would make a man impatient to think of. I told her likewiſe it was " after the firſt ages of the " Commonwealth," that they found out the invention of " putting " a ſhirt next the ſkin," ibid.; that as for ruffles and ſteenkirks,

" they were never added in the very ſplendour and luxury of the " Empire," p. 32. I continued my diſcourſe, that " I much ad- " mired I could never meet with a ſtatue in London, but was " cloathed with a *toga pura*, and no repreſentation of a bullated " one," ibid. I told her, that the Romans indeed " wore flannel " ſhirts; but, in my mind, a fair linen ſhirt every day is as great a " preſervative to neatneſs and cleanneſs of the ſkin," as going to the Bagnio " was to the Romans," p. 33. The lady ſmiled; and told me, " Sir, I am glad you have cloathed the poor creatures " that we found naked." This, ſeeming to be ſpoken in a ridi- culous way, ſomething provoked me; but, " ſpying a little ſtatue" of Mother Shipton, whoſe face " was deep within the quoifure," ſays I, " Madam, this woman looks as if ſhe were " aſhamed of " her cheat," p. 34. It was the fancy of King Henry the Eighth's time, " to make old women Propheteſſes:" but I think to make them *Sage* and *Veneficæ* (that is, in plain Engliſh, Sorcereſſes and Poiſoners), " is reaſonable enough; for age makes all people " ſpiteful, but more the weaker ſex." So we parted in chagrin; for I believe the lady, modeſtly ſpeaking, was upwards of fifty.

I heard of ſeveral perſons, that had great collections of rari- ties, pictures, and ſtatues. But I was reſolved to viſit but a few, and thoſe the moſt *curious*; and, when I made any obſervations, that they ſhould be to the purpoſe.

So I viſited Mr. Doncaſter. " He entertained me very civilly." He has " a very fine octogon room, with a dome." He has very fine pictures; though I muſt confeſs, as before, " I have no reliſh for " painting." He ſhewed me ſome " pictures of Rubens, in which " the allegoric aſſiſtants in the *tableaux* are very airy, and fanci- " fully ſet out." He ſhewed me likewiſe one of Vandyck; but, " being painted in diſhabille, it had a foppiſh night-gown and " old quoifure: which led me into this reflection, that the mo- " dern painters have hereby an opportunity to be idle," p. 40. He has ſeveral other curioſities; among the reſt, was " a Roman " glaſs, whoſe very bottom was ſmooth and very little umbili- " cate," p. 38. He ſhewed me likewiſe a great rummer of two quarts, very proper for Rheniſh wine and lemon and ſugar in the midſt of ſummer; I found that the foot of the latter was more *umbilicated* than the former. He then diverted me with a copy of the writing, ſaid to be the Devil's writing, kept in Queen's College in Oxford. Upon which I began the diſcourſe of theſe

matters. I told him, that "the Chineſe were very much em-"baraſſed in their writing, as this writing ſeemed to be." P. 48. "But I was rather inclined to think this the *Bouſtrophedon* way, "mentioned by Suidas, like the racers about the *meta* in the "Cirque," p. 51. But I could not find that he had any apprehenſion of the matter. In this collection I ſaw "a miller's "thumb," p. 48; he told me, it was taken by a miller with his thumb and fore-finger. It is "very like a *hippocampus* as to the "thick belly and breaſt of it." With this I was extremely pleaſed; and am infinitely obliged to this Mr. Doncaſter: for he ſhewed me ſeveral ſorts of "tadpoles" and "ſticklebacks," which, only for bigneſs, are not much unlike a "pope" or "ruff," and preſented me with one of them, which I deſign to give a draught of.

I was to viſit Mr. Muddifond. I was ſorry to hear that he had "ſome thoughts" concerning "the heart of a hedgehog," which had made "a very great breach betwixt Mr. Goodenough "and himſelf," p 66, 67. I could have wiſhed I might have reconciled the animoſity. "But it is to be hoped there may "come good from an honeſt emulation." I had ſeveral diſcourſes with Mr. Muddifond, about "an old cat and a young "kitling in an air pump, and how the cat died after 16 pumps, "but the kitling ſurvived 500 pumps," p. 69. Upon which, he fell into a learned diſcourſe, of the lives of cats; and at laſt agreed upon this diſtinction, That it ought not to be ſaid that *cats*, but that *kitlings*, have nine lives. And, "after the diſpute "ended, he very obligingly procured me a human heart," ibid. But I muſt confeſs the generoſity of the Engliſh in this; for not many days after Mr. Baddington "procured me another," p. 71; which was extremely grateful.

I was commended by a friend to Mr. Brownſworth, a perſon that belongs to the Tower of London. He is a civil Gentleman; but his genius led him more to politicks than curioſity. He profered to ſhew me the new Armoury, in which are arms, as he told me, for above a hundred thouſand men, all diſpoſed in a manner moſt ſurprizing and magnificent; as likewiſe another Armoury, where are arms for twenty thouſand men more. He would likewiſe have ſhewn me the Horſe Armoury, a royal train of artillery, and ſeveral cannons taken out of the Trident prize. He would likewiſe have carried me to ſee the crown im-

perial

perial and other jewels belonging to it. I humbly thanked him; and told him, that my "curioſity" led me otherwiſe, and "that "my obſervations inclined rather to nature than dominion," p. 2. Upon which, ſmiling, he ſaid, he hoped he ſhould gratify me; and immediately led me to a place where we ſaw lions, tigers, and two very remarkable cat-amountains. I took more particular notice of two "owls, of an immenſe greatneſs," but, "by their being without horns," I take them *not* "to be a diſ-"tinct ſpecies from the European," p. 73.

But that with which I was moſt delighted was a calf-ſkin ſtuft: it was admirable to behold. A certain tumor, or excreſcence, it had upon its forehead, in all points reſembling the commodes or top-knots now in faſhion. Upon this, I expreſſed my thanks to Mr. Brownſworth in the moſt obliging terms I could. He then told me, the royal mint was not far off; upon which, I ſaid, I was a great admirer of coins, and deſired him to give me an account of what coins there were in England. He began to tell me, "That, about three years ago, the current coin of the kingdom conſiſted of old money, coined by ſeveral kings; that thoſe coins were clipt and debaſed to a very great degree, but that the King, with the advice of his Parliament, in the very height of the war with France, had eſtabliſhed a paper credit (or, if you pleaſe to call it, coin) of bills iſſued out of the Exchequer, and notes from the Royal Bank of England, amounting to prodigious ſums; that at preſent all our ſilver is in milled money, either of the two laſt Kings, or his preſent Majeſty, of which there is ſo great a quantity, that poſterity will be apt to think that there were ſcarce any Prince that ever coined before him. This money and credit have circulated ſo far, and are in ſo great a plenty, that, in a late ſubſcription to a new Eaſt India Company, two millions Sterling were ſubſcribed in leſs than two days time, and as much more excluded."—I believe the man would have run on till evening, if I had not thus interrupted him. Sir, ſaid I, I beg you to conſider, that I am a *Virtuoſo*, and that your preſent diſcourſe is quite out of my element. Sir, you would oblige me much more, if you could find me any coin from Palmira, p. 97; more particularly of Zenobia, Oedenatus, or Vabalathus; and that I preferred a VABALATHVS VCRIMPR. or a VABALATHVS AVG. p. 115, before twenty of the beſt pieces of gold coined in the

Tower. The Gentleman very civilly replied, that he would endeavour to ſatisfy my curioſity; that he had at home two ruſty copper pieces, with which he intended to preſent me (which he accordingly did the next day); that he had been told, by a perſon of the *belles lettres*, that they were dug out of the Iſle of Scilly; and that one was of Catathumpton, a Saxon prince, the other of Goclenia his daughter and ſucceſſor: they have both very odd characters (if *any*) about them, and I deſign to give the Reader a cut of them. P. 121.—The evening coming on, and my thanks returned to him, we parted.

"I was to ſee Mr. Shuttleworth, whoſe friendſhip I greatly "value. He has many *ſtones* from Scotland. There is one, the "moſt curious of all, concerning which he is ready to publiſh a "Diſſertation. It is a catalogue in three columns, of the names "of the moſt principal perſons that were killed at Chevy Chace." Widdrington "cloſes the column;" and after his name there is a noble Pindaric, in which he is recorded, upon the cutting off his legs, to have **fought upon his ſtumps**. Of the antiquity of "this *ſtone*, beſides the known hiſtory and names which juſtify "the times of thoſe men, the figure of the letters," and the blackneſs of them, particularly of the word **ſtumps**, are "undoubted arguments," p. 46, 47.

He ſhewed me a thouſand other rarities, "as the ſkin of a Cape aſs, "many very excellent land-ſnails, a freſh-water muſcle from Cha-"tham; a thin oyſter; p. 60, 61; alſo a very large wood frog, "with the extremity of the toes webbed," p. 73.

He ſhewed me "ſome papers of Swammerdam, in which were "ſome ſmall treatiſes, or rather ſome figures only, of the Tadpole." Again, "Figures relating to the natural hiſtory of a certain day "butterfly, and of ſome conſiderable number of ſnails, as well "naked as fluviatile," p. 103.

He ſhewed me "a vaſt number of great caſes, in which were "play-things, or puppets," p. 43; all of them brought from France, except one "Siſtrum, or Ægyptian rattle, with three looſe "or running wires croſs it," p. 111. I profered him my aſſiſtance, to complete ſo uſeful a collection as that of play-things and rattles.

"I was infinitely pleaſed" with this Gentleman's company; eſpecially when "he ſhewed me a Diſſertation he had written out "fair

" fair for the preſs, about a certain ancient Intaglia of Madame's, " of Ptolomeus Auletes, or the player upon the flute; in this, " he ſaid, the thin muffler was the moſt remarkable." Upon this, I told him, that I had a Diſſertation concerning the " remarkable " thickneſs and thinneſs of mufflers;" with which I would preſent him, p. 50.

" One toy I took notice of, which was a collection of tennis- " balls, for three hundred years or more," p. 93; ſome of them were ſent by a French King to King Henry V: and there are patterns of all that the Engliſh have ſent back, from the bigneſs of the ſmalleſt-bored muſquet, to the ſhells of the largeſt mortars.

I went to ſee an old woman (that ſhall be nameleſs). " She " was 91 years of age. I was ſurprized to find her body in ruins. " It was a perfect mortification to ſee the ſad decays of nature. " To hear her talk, with her lips hanging about a toothleſs " mouth, and her words flying abroad at random. This put me " in mind of the Sibyls uttering oracles;" and how other " old " women," called witches, have been ſince " employed on this " errand," and have at very unreaſonable times of night been forced to beſtride their broom-ſtaff on ſuch like occaſions.

I would have ſeen a very famous Library, near St. James's Park: but I was told, that the learned Library-keeper was ſo buſy in anſwering a Book which had been lately written againſt him, concerning Phalaris, that it would be rudeneſs any ways to interrupt him; though I had heard of his " ſingular humanity," both in France and other places [i].

" I was at an auction of books," at Tom's Coffee-houſe, near Ludgate, " where were above fifty people. Books were ſold with " a great deal of trifling and delay, as with us," but very *cheap*," " p. 136;" thoſe excellent Authors Monſieur Maimbourg, Monſieur Varillas, and Monſieur le Grand, though they were all gilt on the back, and would have made a very conſiderable figure in a gentleman's ſtudy, yet after much tediouſneſs were ſold for ſuch trifling ſums that I am aſhamed to name them.

" The pox here is the great buſineſs of the town. This " ſecret ſervice has introduced little contemptible animals of all " ſorts into buſineſs; and quacks here, as with us, do thrive

[i] " Wits are game-cocks to one another."—Our Author could not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of laſhing Dr. Bentley.

" vaſtly

" vaſtly unto great riches. It was very pleaſant diverſion to me, " to read upon the walls, every where about the town, the quacks " bills in great uncial letters; as,

" Aqua Cetrachymagogon [k].

" Another,

" Read, try, judge, and ſpeak as you find.

" Another,

" The unborn doctor [l], that cures all diſeaſes. He is to be " ſpoke with at a boiling cook's, in Old Bedlam, from ten till " two; and afterwards at his ſtage in Moorfields.

" Another,

" At the Golden Ball, and Lilly's [m] Head,
" John Caſe [n] lives, tho' Saffold's [o] dead.

[k] This hard word drew great ſhoals of ſpectators about it; who read the bill, that it introduced, with an unſpeakable curioſity; and, when they were ſick, would have none but this learned man for their Phyſician. See Tatler, No 240; an Eſſay which was probably written by our Author.

[l] The genius, who aſſumed this extraordinary title, is ſaid to have amaſſed a fortune of five hundred pounds a year.

[m] Of Lilly, ſee above, p. 161.

[n] John Caſe was many years a noted practitioner in phyſic and aſtrology. He was looked upon as the ſucceſſor of Lilly and of Saffold, and poſſeſſed the magical utenſils of both. He eraſed the verſes of his predeceſſor from the ſign-poſt, and ſubſtituted in their ſtead this diſtich, by which he is ſaid to have got more than Dryden did by all his Works,

" Within this place
" Lives Doctor CASE."

And was doubtleſs very well paid for compoſing that which he affixed to his pill-boxes,

" Here's fourteen pills for thirteen pence;
" Enough in any man's own con-ſcience."

He publiſhed, in 1697, one of the moſt profound aſtrological pieces the world ever ſaw, called, " The Angelical Guide, ſhewing Men and " Women their chance in this elementary Life," in four books. The diagrams in this work would probably have puzzled Euclid, though he had ſtudied aſtrology. In Mr. Pope's account of the phrenzy of John Dennis, Dr. Caſe is ſent for, to attend him; whence it is probable that he was living in Queen Anne's reign.

[o] Saffold was the immediate ſucceſſor of Lilly, in the ſtudies both of Phyſic and Aſtrology; to which he added that of Poetry, as was to be ſeen upon the ſign where he lived, and in the bills he diſtributed.

By

" By theſe bills, it is evident, there is yet a certain modeſty and " decorum left, in concealing this diſeaſe," p. 236, 237; and people, though they may have failings in private, do not care to expoſe themſelves to the public. There are " women," p. 238, who are ſeventh daughters, that do admirable cures; and there are people that can pick pockets, and afterward, by conſulting the ſtars, tell you who it was that did it.

I met with a gentleman, that told me a ſecret, " That the old " Romans, in their luxury, took their tea and chocolate after a " full meal; and every man was his own cook in that caſe:" particularly " Cæſar," that moſt admirable and moſt accompliſhed prince, " being reſolved to eat and drink to exceſs before he lay " down to table, *emeticen agebat*, prepared for himſelf his cho- " colate and tea," p. 168. He preſented me with a Roman tea-diſh and a chocolate-pot; which I take to be about Auguſtus's time, becauſe it is very ruſty. My maid, very ignorantly, was going to ſcour it, and had done me " an immenſe" damage.

I ſaw ſeveral gardens at Kingſland. " The gardener was an " artiſt, and had ſome plants in caſes in good order, not to be ſeen " elſewhere, as *marum Syriacum*, *roſemary-buſhes*, &c." p. 187.

I was at Chelſea; " where I took particular notice of theſe " plants in the green-houſe at that time, p. 183." As,—Urtica male olens Japoniæ, the ſtinking nettle of Japan.—Gooſberia ſterilis Armeniæ, the Armenian gooſberry-buſh, that bears no fruit: " this had been potted thirty years."—Cordis Quies Perſiæ; which the Engliſh call " Heart's-eaſe," or " Love and Idleneſs;" a very curious plant.—Brambelia fructificans Laplandiæ, or the blooming bramble of Lapland.—With a hundred other curious plants; as, a particular collection of briars and thorns, which were ſome part of the curſe of the creation.

" The winter was very rude and fierce. Multitudes had lit- " tle tin kettles in their houſes, with " ſmall-coal kindled," p. 229, to light their pipes withal; though in ſome places they uſe candles, in others ſalamanders.

I was at Bartholomew Fair, p. 176. " It conſiſts of moſt toy- " ſhops, alſo fiance and pictures; ribbon-ſhops; no books; many " ſhops of confectioners, where *any woman* may commodiouſly " be treated. Knavery is here in perfection, as with us; as dex- " trous cut-purſes and pick-pockets." I went to ſee the dancing

on

on the ropes, which was admirable. Coming out, I met a man that would have taken off my hat; but I ſecured it, and was going to draw my ſword, crying out, "Begar! Damned Rogue! "Morbleu!" &c. when on a ſudden I had a hundred people about me, crying, "Here, Monſieur, ſee Jephtha's raſh vow"—"Here, Monſieur, ſee the tall Dutchwoman[p]"—"See the tiger,"—ſays another.—"See the horſe and no horſe, whoſe tail ſtand "where his head ſhould do."—"See the German Artiſt, Monſieur."—"See the Siege of Namur, Monſieur."—So that, betwixt rudeneſs and civility, I was forced to get into a *fiacre*, and, with "an "air of haſte and a full trot," got home to my lodgings.

I was at St. James's-Park. There were no "pavillions, nor "decoration of treillage and flowers;" but I ſaw there a vaſt number of *ducks*. Theſe were "a moſt ſurprizing ſight. I could "not forbear to ſay to Mr. Johnſon, who was pleaſed to accom- "pany me in this walk, that ſure all the ponds in England had "contributed to this profuſion of *ducks*; which he took ſo well," that he ran immediately to an old gentleman that ſat in a chair, and was feeding of them; who roſe up, "very obligingly em- "braced me, and ſaluted me with a kiſs," and invited me to dinner, telling me, he was infinitely obliged to me for flattering the King's ducks.

Of the FOOD of the LONDONERS.

"The diet of the Londoners conſiſts chiefly of bread and *meat*," which they uſe inſtead of *herbs*. "Bread is there, as in Paris, "finer and coarſer," according as they take out the bran. This I obſerved, that whereas we have a great deal of cabbage and but a little bit of meat, they will have monſtrous pieces of beef (I think they call them *rumps* and *buttocks*) with a few carrots, that ſtand at a diſtance, as if they were frightened; nay, I have

[p] A famous rope-dancer. Mr. Granger has given an account of her, vol IV. p. 352; and, in p. 211, of Jacob Hall, who was of the ſame profeſſion, and is repreſented as "a man of ſymmetry and elegance, as well "as ſtrength and agility: he was much admired by the ladies, who re- "garded him as a due compoſition of Hercules and Adonis." Both Hall and the Dutch-woman are celebrated in Purcell's well-known catch on the humours of Bartholomew Fair.

ſeen

ſeen a thing they call a *ſir-loin*, without any herbs at all, ſo immenſe, that a French footman could ſcarce ſet it upon the table.

They uſe "very white ſalt;" notwithſtanding "I told them "the grey ſalt of France is incomparably better, and more "wholeſome," p. 147.

"The common people feed much upon grey peaſe, of which "there are great proviſions made, and to be had ready boiled," p. 148. I believe they delight in them moſt for ſupper; for every night there goes by a woman crying, "Hot grey peaſe and "bacon!" Though I take peaſe to be too windy for ſupper-meat, and am inclinable to believe that hot ox-cheek and baked wardens, cried at the ſame time, may be wholeſomer.

"Their roots differ much from ours: there are no long tur-"nips, but round ones; Hackney, near London, is famous for "this moſt excellent root; they are moſt excellent with boiled "and ſtewed mutton, and ſometimes with ſtewed beef," p. 149.

I found more "cabbage" in London than I expected, and ſaw a great many reſerves "of old ſtalks in their public gardens." I aſked the reaſon. I was told, the Engliſh were fantaſtic as to herbs and pulſe; that one trade or ſociety of men fancied them and cucumbers, and that a whole county were as much admirers of beans [q] and bacon; and this they thought might be the reaſon of it.

"Lettuce is the great and univerſal ſallad;" but I did not find much "Roman lettuce," becauſe, about ten years ago, a gentleman ſending his footman to market, he miſtook, and aſked for "Papiſt Lettuce;" and the ill name has hindered the vent of it ever ſince.

There are ſeveral others in the herb-market, as "mint, ſorrel, "parſley," very much uſed with chickens white beets, red beets, and aſparagus; theſe they tie up in bundles, and impoſe ſo far as not to ſell under a hundred at a time. P. 152.

"This city is well ſerved with carp, herrings, cod, ſprats, "lobſters, and mackarel; of which there are ſuch incredible "quantities," that there is a public allowance for *mackarel*, as well as *milk*, to be cried on Sundays. P. 155.

Being deſirous to ſee the markets, I had a friend that one morning carried me to Leaden hall. I deſired to know what

[q] Alluding to the Proverb, "Leiceſterſhire Bean-belly."

"muſhrooms"

"muſhrooms" they had in the market. I found but few; at which "I was ſurprized:" for I have all my life "been very "curious and inquiſitive about this kind of plant," p. 154: but I was abſolutely aſtoniſhed to find, that as for "champignons" and "moriglio's," they were as great ſtrangers to them as if they had been bred in Japan.

He promiſed to carry me to the fleſh-market, p. 157, and there to make me amends; but, when I came there, alas! there was a thouſand times too much of it to be good: the ſight of ſuch a quantity was enough to ſurfeit one. I verily believe in my conſcience there were more oxen than cabbages, and more legs of mutton than heads of garlick, in the market. What barbarous "ſoups," p. 157, then muſt theſe poor people eat! "Their veal" has not that beautiful redneſs which belongs to "ours;" and indeed their mutton ſeems more like it, only it is fatter; and their beef is large and fat, to that degree, that it is almoſt impoſſible to roaſt it dry enough to make it fit for any Chriſtian (that has the leaſt of our country indiſpoſition about him) to eat it with any ſafety.

There were ſeveral mountains of this beef, which they called "barons and chines;" which, they told me, were for one of the ſheriffs. I will undertake, with one of theſe "chines," together with cabbage, turnips, and other roots, herbs, and onions proportionable, to make ſoup enough for the Parliament of Paris.

"The Engliſh people, by cuſtom, covet the freſheſt meat, and "cannot endure the leaſt tendency to putrefaction, which gives it "a higher and ſalter taſte; for, as meat rots, it becomes more "urinous and ſalt, which is all in all in the matter of ſoups." I ſaw but one fowl in the market that was fit to be eaten; its ſmell was delicious, and its colour of a beautiful green: I deſired my friend to aſk the price, but the poulterer told him it was ſold to a French merchant.

I have ſeveral other things that I might diſcourſe of; as, "Ken-"tiſh pippins and pears," p. 159; "kidney beans and lentils," p. 148; "preaching, gaming, coaching, carting, walking, ſitting, "ſtanding, &c." p. 174—180. I would likewiſe have given the Reader the cuts of the Nidus Trochilli Anglicani, or wren's neſt, a ſtickleback, two ſnails, two graſhoppers, and thoſe admirable coins of Cacathumpton and Goclenia, but that my Bookſeller ſaid the engraver was out of the way. What may be wanting in this,

this, ſome other Journeys, that I deſign, to the Two Univerſities, Norwich, Briſtol, Exeter, Canterbury, and other trading places, I hope, will ſupply.

Upon reviewing my Notes, I find the following remarkable things omitted in my Treatiſe; which that the Publick may not want, I have thrown into a Poſtſcript.

" The wines follow, and waters to drink," p. 160.

Hare-court has excellent water: ſome people uſe New River, others Thames water. I told them, that we had ſeveral liquors in France; as, " Vin de bonne, volne, mulſo, chabre, condrieu, " and d'arbris, ratafia, otherwiſe called cherry brandy, vattée, " ſenoulliet de l'Iſle de Ree," p. 161—164. He anſwered me, that he had a thouſand ſuch ſort of liquors, as " [1] humtie-dumtie, " three-threads, four-threads, old Pharaoh, knockdown, hugmetee, " ſhouldrée, clamber-crown, hot-pots at Newgate-market, fox " comb, blind pinneaux, ſtiffle," &c.

I muſt not omit a famous ſight in Drury Lane, a place remarkable for modeſty and piety. There is a ſign of *ſix dogs*, that ploughed an acre of ground, which, I believe, may, for want of horſes, be introduced into France *with good effect*. They have very good maſtiffs, that may ſerve for dragoons; but they will ſcarce fall upon Proteſtants.

[1] This enumeration of Engliſh bevereges furniſhed Dr. Bentley with an endleſs fund of merriment againſt our Author.

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SOME

SOME

REMARKS

ON

THE TALE OF A TUB.

First printed in 1704.

To which is now annexed,

An ANSWER to a BOOK, which will be publiſhed next Week, intituled, "A LETTER to the Reverend Dr. "SOUTH, upon Occaſion of a late Book, intituled, Ani-"madverſions on Dr. SHERLOCK's Book, intituled, "A "Vindication of the Holy and Ever-bleſſed TRINITY." Being a LETTER to the AUTHOR.

The "Anſwer to a Book to be publiſhed next Week" had an odd effect; for it was anſwered about a fortnight after, and about four of the impreſſion of the Book itſelf, with the Anſwer adjoined, were ſold; and the remainder lie ſtill by the wall, if not uſed as waſte paper.

Dr. KING's Preface to his Miſcellanies.

Who the Gentleman of the Long Robe was, that entered into the Trinitarian controverſy as a ſecond to Dr. Sherlock, appears not at this diſtance; nor the exact time in which Dr. King's little Eſſay was written. Dr. South's "Animadverſions" were publiſhed in 1693; and Dr. Sherlock defended himſelf in 1694. South again replied; and great men eſpouſed the cauſe of each. The victory was finally adjudged to Dr. South; but not till both the diſputants, together with Dr. Thomas Bennet, Maſter of the Charter-houſe, had been ridiculed in the ſmart Ballad which, as a curioſity, we have printed in p. 211.—Dr. William Sherlock was born in 1641. He was maſter of the Temple, and dean of St. Paul's; and died June 19, 1707.—Dr. Robert South was born in 1633. Among many other preferments, he was a canon of Chriſt Church, and a prebendary of Weſtminſter. He died July 8, 1716.

PREFACE.

SOMEBODY, without the Author's knowledge, having thought fit to print "Mully of Mountown[b]," as alſo "Orpheus and Eurydice[b]" under the title of "The Fairy "Feaſt," in the latter of which above one third of the Poem is omitted; it may therefore be thought a piece of juſtice to the Author, as well as the Courteous Readers, to give them a true copy. The Publiſher is aſſured by the Author, that there is no myſterious meaning in either of them, nor any Politicks.

He has further in charge to tell the world, from the ſame Gentleman, that he had no hand in writing the "Tale of a Tub[c]." He happened one day to diſcourſe more largely than ordinarily of that Book, with one of his Friends; and found the following "Remarks[d]" the next morning laid upon his table.

[b] Theſe two Poems were annexed to the "Remarks," in the Author's edition of 1704. They are now claſſed, among the other pieces in verſe, in our Third Volume.

[c] In the collection of State Poems, 1707, vol. IV. "Mully of "Mountown" is printed, and ſaid to be by "The Author of the "Tale of a Tub."

[d] Theſe "Remarks" were become ſo ſcarce, that Dr. Hawkeſworth tells us, in a note on Swift's Apology, "the oldeſt "bookſellers remember nothing of their title."—Dr. Swift himſelf ſays, Apology, p. xiv. "He has ſeen the productions but of "two anſwerers; one of which at firſt appeared as from an un-"known hand, but ſince avowed by a perſon, who upon ſome "occaſions hath diſcovered no ill vein of humour. It is pity "any occaſion ſhould put him under a neceſſity of being ſo "haſty in his productions, which otherwiſe might often be enter-"taining. But there were other reaſons obvious enough for his "miſcarriage in this; he wrote againſt the conviction of his

"talent, and entered upon one of the wrongeſt attempts in na-
"ture, to turn into ridicule by a week's labour a work, which
"had coſt ſo much time, and met with ſo much ſucceſs in ridi-
"culing others: the manner how he handled his *ſubject* I have
"now forgotten; having juſt looked it over, when it firſt came
"out, as others did, merely for the ſake of the title."—Nothing can be more in the Dean's manner, than this deſcription of our Author and his "Remarks;" which did not prevent his experiencing the friendſhip of Swift when a proper occaſion required it.—"The other anſwer (ibid.) is from a perſon of a "graver character" [Dr. Wotton]; and is made up of half "invective, and half annotation, in the latter of which he hath "generally ſucceeded well enough."—So well indeed, that Dr. Swift has preſſed him into a ſervice, in which, it has been well obſerved, "Wotton appears buſied to illuſtrate a work which he "laboured to condemn, and adds force to a ſatire pointed againſt "himſelf: as captives were bound to the chariot-wheels of the "victor, and compelled to increaſe the pomp of his triumph, "whom they had in vain attempted to defeat."

REMARKS,

REMARKS, &c.

Gravel-lane, in Old-ſtreet, June 10, 1704.

HONOURED SIR,

IT may lie in the power of the meaneſt perſon to do a ſervice or a diſſervice to the greateſt, according as his inclination or his due reſpect may lead him; which is the true occaſion of my writing you this Letter, to ſhew you that a perſon in the loweſt circumſtances in the world may ſtill have a concern to do good; as I hope it is yours to do ſo to every body elſe. Although I believe you know not me; yet I have known you from a child, and am certain you cannot forget Mr. Seyley [e] the chimney-ſweeper; any more than you can your neighbour the ſmall-coal-man at Clerkenwell, at whoſe muſick-meeting I have often performed a part in your hearing, and have ſeen you ſeveral times at the auction of his Books, which were a curioſity that I could have wiſhed you had been able to have purchaſed.

I own that I am a perſon, as far as my capacity and other circumſtances will give me leave, deſirous of my own improvement and knowledge, and therefore look into all Books that may contribute towards them. It is natural for every perſon to look after things in their own way. The Fiſherman aſks for "The "Compleat Angler;" the Jockey, for "Markham [f];" the Pick-pocket, for "Duval" and "The German Princeſs;" the Vintner "for "Charlton's Myſtery;" the Good Woman for "Boyle's "Family Receipts;" the Shoe-maker, for "Criſpin and Criſ-"pianus;" the Charcoal-man, for "Crim the Collier of Croydon; the Taylor, for "Gammar Gurton's Needle;" the Paſtry-cook, for "The Man that was choaked with Cuſtard at Newberry;"

[e] A print of "Seyley the chimney-ſweeper, and his boy," whoſe baſs and treble voices were generally heard in the ſtreets about ſix o'clock in the morning, is deſcribed by Mr. Granger, vol. IV. p. 355.

[f] Joſeph Markham, who had a captain's commiſſion in the civil war, was the author of the "Perfect Horſe-man;" "The whole Art of An-"gling;" and ſeveral other treatiſes. See an account of him in Granger, vol. II. p. 337.

the young Heireſs, for "Love-letters between a Nun and a Ca-"valier," or "Nobleman and his Siſter;" and the Deſpairing Lover, for the Play of "Cupid's Whirligig[g]."

Now, Sir, I muſt own, that it has been my fortune to find very few that tend any way to my own employment; I have not been able to meet with "Tartaretus," a Book mentioned by Dr. Eachard[h]; nor with ſeveral Authors quoted by Mr. Harrington, that great commonwealth's-man, in his incomparable treatiſe[i] of "The Metamorphoſis of A-Jax[k]."

But at laſt it happened that, as I was returning from my *nightly* vocation, which, beginning between eleven and twelve in the evening, generally employs me till the dawn of the ſucceeding morning; and being melancholy that I had not found ſo much gold that night as I might be ſuppoſed to have done either by my wife or my neighbours; I ſaw a fellow paſting up the title-pages of Books at the corners of the ſtreets; and there, among others, I ſaw one called "The Tale of a Tub:" which imagining to be a ſatire upon my profeſſion, I ordered one of my myrmidons to attack the fellow, and not to box him, but give him two or three gentle ſtroaks over the noſtrils; till at laſt the fellow, being of a ready wit, as having to do with all ſorts of Authors, promiſed to go to Mr. Nutt's for one of the copies; and that, if he did not convince me that it was a more ſcandalous libel upon the Author of that fooliſh Tale, than it could be upon any one elſe, he would engage that I ſhould ſet him aſtride upon one of my barrels, whenever I ſhould meet him publiſhing any thing printed for the ſame Stationer.

Sir, pardon me, if I fancy you may, by what I have ſaid, gueſs at my profeſſion: but I deſire you not to fear, for I declare to you that I affect cleanlineſs to a nicety. I mix my ink with

g A Comedy of the laſt century.

h Dr. John Eachard, maſter of Catharine-Hall. Lawrence Echard, the Hiſtorian, who was his relation, ſpelt his name differently.

i A ſevere ſatire on many perſons in high ſtations in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The Author of it incurred much cenſure among the great, and even from the Queen herſelf. But his high eſtimation with that Princeſs ſecured an unexpected forgiveneſs. See "Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. II. p. 245.

k This poſſibly gave Dr. Swift the hint for the *true* etymology of this and ſome other names. See his Works, vol. XV. p. 475.

roſe or orange-flower-water, my ſcrutoire is of cedar-wood, my wax is ſcented, and my paper lies amongſt ſweet bags. In ſhort, I will uſe you with a thouſand times more reſpect than the Bookſeller of the "Tale of a Tub" does a noble Peer, under the pretence of a Dedication[1]; or than the Author does his Readers.

It was not five a clock when I had performed a ſevere penance; for I had read over a piece of nonſenſe, inſcribed "To his Royal "Highneſs Prince Poſterity;" where there is ſo conſiderable an aim at nothing, and ſuch an accompliſhment of that deſign, that I have not in my library met any thing that equals it. I never gave over till I had read his Tale, his Battle, and his Fragment: I ſhall ſpeak of the ſeries and ſtyle of thoſe three treatiſes hereafter. But the firſt remarkable ſtory that I found was that, about the twenty-ſecond page, concerning a fat fellow crowding to ſee a Mountebank. I expected to have found ſomething witty at the end: but it was all of a piece; ſo ſtuffed with curſes, oaths, and imprecations, that the moſt profligate criminal in New-priſon would be aſhamed to repeat it.

I muſt take notice of one other particular piece of nonſenſe, and no more; where he ſays, p. 52, "That the ladder is an adequate ſym-"bol of faction and of poetry. Of faction, becauſe * * * * *Hiatus in* "*Mſ.* * * * Of poetry, becauſe its orators do *perorare* with a ſong." The true reaſons why I do not deſcend to more particulars is, becauſe I think the three treatiſes (which, by their harmony in dirt, may be concluded to belong to one Author) may be reduced to a very ſmall compaſs, if the common-places following were but left out. But the Author's firſt aim is, to be profane; but that part I ſhall leave to my betters, ſince matters of ſuch a nature are not to be jeſted with, but to be puniſhed.

The ſecond is, to ſhew how great a proficient he is, at hectoring and bullying, at ranting and roaring, and eſpecially at curſing and ſwearing. He makes his perſons of all characters full of their oaths and imprecations; nay, his very ſpider has his ſhare, and, as far as in the Author lies, he would tranſmit his impiety to things that are irrational.

[1] The Dedication to Lord Somers is written in the character of the Bookſeller; the Author's Dedication being addreſſed to "Prince Poſterity."

His third is, to exceed all bounds of modeſty. Men who are obliged by neceſſity to make uſe of uncommon expreſſions, yet have an art of making all appear decent; but this Author, on the other ſide, endeavours to heighten the worſt colours, and to that end he ſearches his antient Authors for their lewdeſt images, which he manages ſo as to make even impudence itſelf to bluſh at them.

His next is, a great affectation for every thing that is naſty. When he ſpies any object that another perſon would avoid looking on, that he embraces. He takes the air upon dung-hills, in ditches, and common-ſhoars, and at my Lord Mayor's dog-kennel. In ſhort, almoſt every part has a tincture of ſuch filthineſs, as renders it unfit for the worſt of uſes.

By the firſt of theſe, he ſhews his *religion*; by the ſecond, his *converſation*; by the third, his *manners*; and by the fourth, his *education*.

Now were the Crow, who at preſent ſtruts ſo much in the gutter, ſtripped of theſe four ſorts of feathers, he would be left quite naked: he would have ſcarce one ſtory, one jeſt, one alluſion, one ſimile, or one quotation. And I do aſſure Mr. Nutt, that, if he ſhould employ me in my own calling, I would bargain not to foul my utenſils with carrying away the Works of this Author. Such were my ſentiments upon reading theſe pieces; when, knowing that no ſponge or fair water will clean a Book, when foul ink and fouler notions have ſullied the paper, I looked upon the fire as the propereſt place for its purgation, in which it took no long time to expire.

Now, Sir, you may wonder how you may be concerned in this long ſtory; and why I apply myſelf to you, in declaring my ſentiments of this Author. But I ſhall ſhew you my reaſon for it, before I conclude this my too tedious epiſtle.

Now, Sir, in the dearth of wit that is at preſent in the town, all people are apt to catch at any thing that may afford them any diverſion; and what they cannot find, they make: and ſo this Author was bought up by all ſorts of people, and every one was willing to make ſenſe of that which had none in it originally. It was ſold, not only at court, but in the city and ſuburbs; but, after ſome time, it came to have its due value put upon it: the Brewer, the Soap-boiler, the Train-oil-man, were all affronted at it;

it; and it afforded a long diſpute at our Coffee-houſe over the Gate, who might be the Author.

A certain Gentleman, that is the neareſt to you of any perſon, was mentioned, upon ſuppoſition that the Book had Wit and Learning in it. But, when I had diſplayed it in its proper colours, I muſt do the company that juſtice, that there was not one but acquitted you. That matter being diſpatched, every one was at their liberty of gueſſing. One ſaid, he believed it was a Journey-man-taylor in Billeter-lane, that was an idle ſort of a fellow, and loved writing more than ſtitching, that was the Author; his reaſon was, "becauſe here he is ſo deſirous to mention "his Gooſe and his Garret:" but it was anſwered, "that he was "a member of the Society;" and ſo he was excuſed. "But why "then," ſays another, "ſince he makes ſuch a *parable* upon "coats, may he not be Mr. Amy the Coat-ſeller, who is a Poet and "a Wit?" To which it was replied, "That that gentleman's loſs "had been bewailed in an Elegy ſome years ago."—"Why may "not it be Mr. Gumly the Rag-woman's huſband in Turnball-"ſtreet?" ſays another. "He is kept by her; and, having little to "do, and having an Officer in Monmouth's Army, ſince the "defeat at Sedgemore [m] has always been a violent Tory." But it was urged, "that his ſtyle was harſh, rough, and unpoliſhed; "and that he did not underſtand one word of Latin."—"Why "then," cries another, "Oliver's porter [n] had an Amanuenſis at "Bedlam,

[m] The duke of Monmouth, with a few of his followers, landed in the Weſt, July 5, 1685; and found himſelf at the head of a numerous body of plowmen, graziers, and mechanicks; who behaved better in the battle at Sedgemore, than could have been expected from a rabble of ſuch undiſciplined ſoldiers. Monmouth was found by ſome country fellows two days after, concealed in a field under ſome ſtraw, with ſome peaſe in his pocket; and on the 15th of July was beheaded.

[n] This man, whoſe Chriſtian name was Daniel, learned much of the cant that prevailed in his maſter's time. He was a great plodder in books of divinity, eſpecially in thoſe of the myſtical kind, which are ſuppoſed to have turned his brain. He was many years in Bedlam, where his library was, after ſome time, allowed him; as there was not the leaſt probability of his cure. The moſt conſpicuous of his books was a Bible given him by Nell Gwynn. He frequently preached, and ſometimes propheſied; and was ſaid to have foretold ſeveral remarkable events, particularly the fire of London. See Leſley's "Snake in the Graſs," p. 330; where we learn,

" Bedlam, that uſed to tranſcribe what he dictated: and may not " theſe be ſome ſcattered notes of his Maſter's?" To which all replied, " that, though Oliver's porter was crazed, yet his miſ- " fortune never let him forget that he was a Chriſtian." One ſaid, " It was a Surgeon's man, that had married a Midwife's " nurſe:" but, though by the ſtyle it might ſeem probable that two ſuch perſons had a hand in it; yet, ſince he could not name the perſons, his fancy was rejected. " I conjecture," ſays another, " that it may be a Lawyer, that ——" When, on a ſudden, he was interrupted by Mr. Markland the Scrivener, " No, rather, by " the oaths, it ſhould be an Iriſh evidence." At laſt there ſtood up a ſprant young man, that is Secretary to our Scavenger, and cries, " What if after all it ſhould be a Parſon o! for who may " make more free with their trade? What if I know him, de- " ſcribe him, name him, and how he and his friends talk of it, " admire it, are proud of it."—" Hold, cry all the company; " that function muſt not be mentioned without reſpect. We " have enough of the dirty ſubject; we had better drink our " coffee, and talk our politicks."

I doubt not, Sir, but you wiſh the diſcourſe had broke off ſooner. Pardon it; for it means well to you, however expreſt: for I am to my utmoſt, &c.

learn, that people went often to hear him preach, " and would ſit many " hours under his window with great devotion." Mr. Leſley had the curioſity to aſk a grave matron, who was among his auditors, " what " ſhe could profit by hearing that madman?" She, with a compoſed countenance, as pitying his ignorance, replied, " That Feſtus thought " Paul was mad!" Granger, vol. IV. p. 210.

o The Clergyman here alluded to is not the real Author, who was not at that time ſuſpected; but Mr. Thomas Swift, rector of Puttenham in Surrey, whom the Dean, vol. XVI. p. 2, calls his " parſon couſin," and who appears to have taken ſome pains to be conſidered as the Author of the " Tale of a Tub." See vol. XVII. p. 528.

LETTER

LETTER

TO THE

AUTHOR OF A BOOK.

SIR,

IF you had been ſo civil as to have written an ingenuous Letter to Dr. South (as you might have done by the poſt), inſtead of printing an unmannerly Pamphlet inſcribed to his Name; this paper had never come out: ſo that you had not troubled me, nor expoſed yourſelf. I am ſorry, Sir, you are one of thoſe Lawyers, who in term-time are more employed by Bookſellers than Clients; and, inſtead of keeping Clerks to copy declarations, tranſcribe your idle notions to the preſs yourſelf.—The compoſitor was very much puzzled with your court-hand!

But why do you think I write this, who am a Phyſician? It is to ſave people the expence of buying your Book when it is publiſhed; and no doubt, when you appear upon the ſtalls, they will thank me for it. Your fate there will not be long in deciding; for whereas other Books are tried a year before they are deſpaired of, yours will be forgotten in a fortnight.

You begin your Book with theſe words, "It was my fortune "this ſummer to paſs through Caſam, &c." Now, Sir, there being no ſuch place in England, I am apt to fancy you have not ſtirred out of London this long vacation, at leaſt you have no map of Oxfordſhire in your chamber. Admit either of theſe, and I am ſure you will appear a very comical blunderer, likely to ſpy faults in the exactneſs of the Animadverter. But you proceed like an ingenuous perſon, and ſay that, "being a ſtranger, "you deſired to wait upon Dr. South."—Very kind, upon my word! Though, for my own part, who have read your Letter, if your converſation be no better than your writing, I would rather have you print againſt me, than viſit me.

You ſay that you have a friend, to whom Dr. South diſowned the Animadverſions on Dr. Sherlock; but, by the reſt of your Letter, it is evident you miſtruſt the man's veracity; and ſo do I too: for (to lay aſide other reaſons) it is not probable Dr. South would

wonld make a confident of a man, who is a friend to a Pamphleteer ſo deſpicable.

You make an out-cry, up and down your Book, againſt "impudence, malice, ill-manners," &c. as if you deſigned to reprove them. But your Book ſhews, that, whatever uſe you make of the *words*, the *things* themſelves you are plentifully ſtored with. Hence it is that you ſo graciouſly pronounce ſentence againſt the Animadverſions, and would deliver them over to be burnt; but "you are afraid the execution would promote the ſale."—Send your own Books, Sir; and if, even after ſome of them have been burnt, the remainder goes off, I will pay the Hangman.

I find you are not much minded in town, by your intelligence: for whereas you confidently affirm that the Animadverſions are not licenſed, even your Bookſeller, who is doubtleſs the top of your converſation, can inform you otherwiſe.

I come now to the grand deſign of your Paper, which is, to deſire the world to take notice that "you will meddle with no "point of Divinity." And, the Animadverſions being on that ſubject, it is evident you deſign only to diſplay your wit and language. The King's-bench or the Chancery-bar have never given you an opportunity for it; but you are reſolved a taſte of both ſhall lye in Weſtminſter-hall however.—"Caveat Emptor!"

Thus, Sir, with great care I have examined your whole Book: and whoever finds more than this Abridgement has touched at, muſt thank Fortune. However Dr. Sherlock may have been nonplus'd by the Animadverter, I am apt to gueſs he never ſent for you to be his defender; and if the controverſy had lain at Common Law, I am confident he would have feed other Counſel. Let me adviſe you, Sir, to mind Chamber-practice, and pretend to be a Conveyancer; for, by the oratory of this Book, it is evident that you were not cut out for a Pleader.

So, Sir, good bye. I wiſh you better ſucceſs next Term.

Your humble Servant, &c.

THE

THE BATTLE ROYAL:

A BALLAD.

I.

A DEAN[a] and Prebendary[b]
Had once a new vagary,
And were at doubtful ſtrife, Sir,
Who led the better life, Sir,
And was the better man,
And was the better man.

II.

The Dean he ſaid, that truly,
Since Bluff was ſo unruly,
He'd prove it to his face, Sir,
That he had the moſt grace, Sir,
And ſo the fight began, &c.

III.

When PREB replied like thunder,
And roar'd out, 'twas no wonder,
Since Gods the Dean had three, Sir,
And more by two than he, Sir,
For he had got but one, &c.

IV.

Now while theſe two were raging,
And in diſpute engaging,
The Maſter of the Charter[c]
Said, both had caught a Tartar,
For Gods, Sir, there were none, &c.

a Dr. William Sherlock.

b Dr. South.

c Dr. T. Burnet had about this time ridiculed, in his "Archæologiæ "Philoſophicæ," the literal account of the Creation of Man, as it ſtands in the beginning of Geneſis; and this, being then thought very heterodox and prophane, as indeed it generally is now, expoſed him to the Poet's laſh.

V. That

V.

That all the books of Moſes
Were nothing but ſuppoſes;
That he deſerv'd rebuke, Sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, Sir,
'Twas nothing but a ſham, &c.

VI.

That as for father Adam,
With Mrs. Eve his madam,
And what the ſerpent ſpoke, Sir,
'Twas nothing but a joke, Sir,
And well-invented flam, &c.

VII.

Thus in this Battle Royal
As none would take denial,
The Dame for which they ſtrove, Sir,
Could neither of them love, Sir,
Since all had given offence, &c.

VIII.

She therefore, ſlily waiting,
Left all three fools a prating;
And, being in a fright, Sir,
Religion took her flight, Sir,
And ne'er was heard of ſince,
And ne'er was heard of ſince [d].

[d] Whether this ballad is worded with that decency that the ſubject of the diſpute, or the very learned and eminent perſons concerned in it deſerve, we ſhall not determine. But the reception it met with, being tranſlated into ſeveral languages, particularly Latin by a curious hand at Cambridge, and the preſents ſent the author by the nobility and gentry, made it evident that their ſentiments were againſt having the myſteries of our Holy Religion diſcuſſed and canvaſſed after ſo ludicrous a manner.

ADDI-

ADVERSARIA;

OR,

Occaſional REMARKS on Men and Manners [a].

THALES, being aſked how a man might moſt eaſily brook misfortunes, anſwered, "If he ſaw his enemies in a worſe "condition [b]." It is not agreed concerning the Wiſe Men; or whether, indeed, they were Seven.

There is a very good Letter of Piſiſtratus to Solon, and of the ſame ſtyle and character with thoſe of Phalaris.

Solon ordained, that the guardians of orphans ſhould not cohabit with their mothers; and that no perſon ſhould be a guardian to thoſe whoſe eſtate deſcended upon them at the orphan's deceaſe: that no ſeal-graver ſhould keep the ſeal of a ring that was ſold: that, if any man put out the eye of him who had but one, he ſhould loſe both his own: that, where a man never planted, it ſhould be death to take away: that it ſhould be death for a magiſtrate to be taken in drink.

Solon's Letters, at the end of his Life in Laërtius, give us a truer idea of the man, than all he has written before; and are, indeed, very fine. Solon's to Crœſus, are very genteel; and Pittacus's, on the other ſide, as rude and philoſophical: however, both ſhew Crœſus to have been a very great man. Theſe Epiſtles give a further reaſon to believe that the others were written by Phalaris, There is a Letter from Cleobulus to Solon, to invite him to Lindus.

Bion uſed to ſay, "It was more eaſy to determine differences "between enemies than friends; for that, of two friends, one "would become an enemy; but of two enemies, one would "become a friend."

Anacharſis has an Epiſtle to Crœſus, to thank him for his invitation; and Periander one to all the wiſe men, to invite them

[a] Many of theſe Remarks were made from the peruſal of original papers in the Record-offices of Ireland.

[b] Diogenes Laërtius, book i.

to Corinth to him, after their return from Lydia. Epimenides has an Epiſtle to Solon, to invite him to Crete, under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus.

Epimenides often pretended that he roſe from death to life.

Socrates is ſaid to have aſſiſted Euripides in his Tragedies. He was a great champion of Democracy; and extols Pleaſure as the beſt thing a man could enjoy, as Xenophon witneſſes in his Sympoſiarchum.

Xenophon was modeſt to exceſs, and the moſt lovely perſon living.

Ariſtippus was a man of a ſoft temper, and could comply with all perſons, places, and ſeaſons. He could enjoy pleaſure, and ſcorn it if too expenſive to his way of living. He ſaid, "Pleaſure "was no crime; but it was a crime for a man to be a ſlave to "his pleaſure." We can have no true character of him from his Life in Laërtius: for it is certain, he was an exact Courtier; and the reſt of the Philoſophers, the Grecians, were generally averſe to him, becauſe he could endure to live in the Court of Dionyſius: whereas they were all for a Democracy, and could not endure to ſee a Greek complaiſant to a Monarch, being a thing, as they thought, below the dignity of his birth. Pleaſure was the thing he ſought after; and the Hegeſiacks, his followers, tell us, "There was nothing either pleaſant or unpleaſant by nature; "but that, through ſcarcity, novelty, and ſatiety, ſome things "were delightful, others diſtaſteful; that wealth and poverty "had no relation to pleaſure; for that the pleaſures of the rich, "and the pleaſures of the poor, were ſtill the ſame." They were of opinion, "That the tranſgreſſions of men were to be par- "doned; for that no man committed a voluntary ſin, but by "the impulſe of ſome natural paſſion or other; that a man "ought to propoſe to himſelf, as his chiefeſt end, to live a life "freeſt from trouble and pain, which happens to them who are "not over-eager in the chace and purſuit of pleaſure."

See, in the Life of Ariſtippus, the notion of the Cyreniacks about friendſhip, and how they ſhew the pleaſure that is in it. Theodorus the Atheiſt denied friendſhip, as neither appearing really in Fools nor Wiſe Men; for, in the firſt, as ſoon as the benefit ceaſes, the friendſhip dies; and Wiſe Men truſt ſo much to their own abilities, that they ſtand in need of none.

Laërtius has made verſes on moſt of the Philoſophers; which are very dull.

The

The Phrygians, profuſe in their tempers.

Menedemus, when a ſtupid fellow talked impertinently to him, ſaid, "Haſt thou any lands?" The fellow anſwered, "Yes, "ſeveral farms."—"Go then," ſaid he, "and look after them, "leſt thou loſe thy wealth, and come to be a *poor* fool."

Timon, an inveterate enemy to the Academic Philoſophers, has written a ſatire upon them all. There is a very fine Ode of Ariſtotle's in Diogenes Laërtius, concerning Virtue and Friendſhip, which wants to be tranſlated from the Greek. Laërtius is a very dull fellow.

Diogenes's ſayings are moſt of them Puns. He ſaid, Oppoſition was the ſtudy of his whole life; I wiſh *that* Philoſophy never prevailed in Trinity College [c].

Hypparchia, a woman of good birth and fortune, fell in love with Crates the naſty Cynick, and would needs marry him, and live after his faſhion. Crates made her brother become his *auditor*, by letting a fart. Theſe Cynicks were naſty brutes!

The Logick of the Stoicks ſeems to me, as far as I can make any thing of Laërtius, to be nothing but words. They held ſelf-preſervation to be the firſt of all deſires infuſed into all creatures. Erillus maintained there were things indifferent between Virtue and Vice.

Dr. Heylin's [d] Life, written before his works by an anonymous Author, 1681; then by George Vernon [e], rector of Bourton

[c] Alluding to Dr. Bentley's diſputes with the Fellows of that College.

[d] Peter Heylin, born Nov. 29, 1600, firſt of Hart Hall, then of Magdalen College, Oxford, was chaplain to archbiſhop Laud (whoſe Life he publiſhed), and alſo to king Charles the Firſt and Second.—His "Hiſtory of St. George," publiſhed in 1631, recommended him to Charles I, who preferred him to a prebend in Weſtminſter, and to the rectory of Houghton in Durham; from both of which he was ejected during the Civil War, and reduced to great ſtraits. He ſupported himſelf by his pen; and the number and bulk of his writings are very great, as he even continued to publiſh when he could no longer ſee to write; and retained an amanuenſis to the day of his death, May 8, 1662. The generality of his writings are in no great eſteem at preſent: but his "Help to "Engliſh Hiſtory," (lately re-printed with improvements by Paul Wright, B. D.) is a work of great utility. Some of the beſt of his pieces are in the collection of "Hiſtorical and Miſcellaneous Tracts," 1681, fol.

[e] Admitted of Brazen-noſe College, March 9, 1653, at the age of 16. Several of his works are enumerated by Wood, II. 1025.—The ano-

Bourton upon the Water in Gloceſterſhire; which, as much as I had patience to read, is very indifferent; and he is accuſed by Dr. Bernard, rector of Waddington near Lincoln, not to have dealt fairly with him, nor to have given a ſufficient account; and therefore he has publiſhed a *third* volume in 1683 [f]. He had married Dr. Heylin's daughter, mother to Bernard of Brazen-noſe College; who has turned her and his ſiſter Papiſts. This Bernard was fellow of Lincoln College [g], and tutor to Crew [h], ſince biſhop of Durham, to whom he dedicates the Book [i]. Bernard is not a violent man; ſeems to have little judgement, and an indifferent ſtyle. Pedantick ſtuff!

In the Preface to Scaliger's works, he ſaith, "The fragments "of Ariſtotle are beyond any thing that Pindar or Homer ever "wrote."

A Character.

"Mirth makes them not mad,
"Nor ſobriety ſad;
"For of that they are ſeldom in danger:
"At Paris, at Rome,
"At The Hague, they 're at home,
"The Good Fellow is no where a ſtranger."

nymous Life having been drawn up by Vernon, it was corrected, enlarged, and methodized, by Bernard. But thoſe corrections being afterward mutilated either by Mr. Vernon or by Dr. Barlow biſhop of Lincoln, neither of them would own it as it there ſtands; and therefore Vernon publiſhed a ſecond Life, and Bernard a third.

[f] Intituled, "Theologo Hiſtoricus, or the true Life of Dr. Peter "Heylin."

[g] Made fellow Sept. 29, 1648. He died Aug. 17, 1683. See more of him in Wood, II. 737.

[h] Dr. Nathanael Crew, dean of Chicheſter, was made biſhop of Oxford in 1671; and tranſlated to Durham Oct. 22, 1674. He was conſiderable for his birth, and more conſiderable for his preferments. He died Sept. 18, 1721, aged 88, having been upwards of 50 years a biſhop.

[i] Mr. Granger tells us, Bp. Crew gave Dr. Mangey a prebend of Durham for a flattering Dedication prefixed to a Sermon, which, as Dr. R. Grey, then his domeſtic chaplain, aſſured Mr. G. Aſhby, he never read. He was fully ſatisfied with the Dedication.

After

After David's return from the ſpoil of Ziglag, and other ſpoil of the Amalekites, "As his part is, that goeth down to the "battle, ſo ſhall his part be that tarrieth by the ſtuff: they ſhall "part alike. And it was ſo from that day forward, that he "made it a ſtatute and an ordinance for Iſrael unto this day [k]."

The Second of Eſdras ſeems to me full of tautologies, and childiſh inſtances of God's power, and explanation of his ſecret deſigns.

Chryſoſtom ſpeaks expreſsly of Jeſus Chriſt.

See Bartolus Agricola de Advocato: he ſays, "Having taught "the Advocate to be a good man, he proceeds to make him a "good Chriſtian."

I hear now, Hugenius and Euſtachius, both Divines, are to be tried by their *glaſſes*, which is the moſt ſkilful in Opticks of the two. Hugenius acknowledges no divine right of Biſhops, to govern by virtue of impoſition of hands, and conſecration; and immediately from Chriſt, and not from the king. He believes the king only, and without ſharers, to be the head of all Churches within his own dominions; and that he may diſpenſe with ceremonies, and with any thing elſe, that is not againſt the Scripture, or againſt natural reaſon. He cannot believe the ſafety of the ſtate depends upon the ſafety of the Church, he means the clergy; for neither is the clergy eſſential to a commonwealth: that the king is no part of the flock of any miniſter or biſhop, no more than the ſhepherd is of his ſheep, but of Chriſt only; and all the clergy, as well as the people, the king's flock. He would have biſhops hold their authority from the king's letters patent. He is againſt an immaterial or incorporeal ſubſtance.

Burnet, in his Life of Biſhop Bedell [l], ſays, "That the Primate [m] was not made for the *governing part* of his function." The contrary appears by his opinion of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in his Letters to Biſhop Bedell, N° 142, 143.—Dr. Bernard's ac-

[k] 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25.

[l] Dr. William Bedell, biſhop of Kilmore, was born in 1570, and died Feb. 7, 1641.

[m] Dr. James Uſher, born in Dublin, Jan. 4, 1580, was chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and profeſſor of divinity in that univerſity, in 1607; elected provoſt in 1610; raiſed to the ſee of Meath in 1620; advanced to the archbiſhoprick of Armagh in 1624; and died March 21, 1655-6.

count of Biſhop Uſher's detecting Richard Stanihurſt [n], his Unkle by the Mother's ſide, a learned man of the Romiſh perſuaſion, an excellent Hiſtorian, Philoſopher, and Poet, as appears by his Works; ſome of them written againſt his nephew. Letters between them in that Collection.

Ambroſe Uſher, nephew to the Biſhop, tranſlated a Book of the Antient State of the Chriſtian Church from the Latin; which is ſtill in Mſ.

King James I. ſent to Dublin James Fullerton and James Hamilton, after Viſcount Clandebois, to keep a correſpondence with the Engliſh Proteſtant nobility, and to ſecure his intereſt in that kingdom when queen Elizabeth ſhould happen to die. They were there as Schoolmaſters, and taught biſhop Uſher.

In 1593, Trinity College in Dublin was finiſhed; Dr. Loftus, ſometime fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, afterward archbiſhop of Dublin, being the firſt provoſt of it. Biſhop Uſher, at thirteen years old, the firſt ſcholar entered there.

In 1598, Earl of Eſſex [o] lord lieutenant of Ireland. He made an exact terrier, of his own hand-writing, of all the eſtates and leaſes left him by his Father; and drew an exact ſtate of all the ſuits and encumbrances that lay upon it, with directions what to do therein.

He was againſt a Toleration, fearing leſt, a connivance being given to the Papiſts, a luke-warm indifference might ſeize the Proteſtants themſelves.

Biſhop Uſher wrote a Treatiſe about the *Herenagh Terman*, or *Corban* lands, which anciently the *Chorepiſcopi* received. Sir Henry Spelman has tranſlated the ſubſtance of it into his Gloſſary. The Mſ. is at Lambeth. Among his friends were Sir John Bouchier, after Biſhop of Saliſbury. The lady Tyrrel [p] was his only child.

Archbiſhop Uſher's anſwer to the Jeſuit's challenge was to one Malore, an Iriſh Jeſuit of the College of Louvain; who, after

[n] See a very full account of him in Wood, I. 442; where his writings are particularly mentioned. He was chaplain to the archduke of Auſtria.

[o] Robert Devereux, beheaded Feb. 25, 1600, in his 34th year.

[p] Elizabeth, married to Sir Timothy Tyrrel, general of the ordnance to Charles I; whoſe eldeſt ſon James Tyrrel was Author of an Hiſtory of England, and many Tracts on the Conſtitution of this Kingdom.

three

three years, publiſhed a tedious and ſcurrilous reply. Dr. Hoyle, Dr. King, and Mr. Puttock, took this Author to taſk. Uſher made Archbiſhop of Armagh by King James. King Charles gave him a penſion of four hundred pounds *per annum*. He is appointed by the Commons to preach before them at St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter. The Prebendaries claimed the privilege of the Church, and their exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction, for many hundred years, and offered their own ſervice: whereupon the Houſe, being diſpleaſed, appointed the place to be at the Temple; but where he preached at laſt, does not appear. But the judgement of the archbiſhops and biſhops at that time were againſt the toleration of Papiſts.

Archbiſhop Uſher, in a ſpeech of his, ſays, "That the earl of "Deſmond, in Henry the Eighth's time, made an offer of Ireland "to the French king; and the inſtrument thereof remains ſtill "upon record in the courts of Paris." The Biſhop of Rome afterwards transferred the titles of all our kingdoms to Charles the Fifth; which, by a *new grant*, were transferred to his Son Philip, in the time of queen Elizabeth, with a reſolution to ſettle the crown upon the Spaniſh Infanta.—In Spain, when the treaty of the match with prince Charles and the Infanta was on foot, there was a book publiſhed by Philip O Sullivan, an Iriſhman; wherein the Spaniard is taught, that the ready way to eſtabliſh his Monarchy is, firſt to ſet upon Ireland; which being quickly obtained, the conqueſt of Scotland, then of England, falls of courſe; and the Low Countries, it is foretold, with great facility will follow after. In the Iriſh war againſt queen Elizabeth, the Spaniards practiſed this; and the Pope, by his Bulls, gave them the ſame indulgences as were given to thoſe who fight againſt the Turks.

The Archbiſhop ſays, "That, by the king's lenity in for-"bearing the execution of the laws, our Recuſants have found "ſuch experience of favour, that they cannot expect greater "*liberty* than what they now freely enjoy."

In the Rolls in the Pipe-office, you will find the names of thoſe that contributed to Henry the Third, for the marrying of his ſiſter to the Emperor. In the Records of the ſame king, kept in England, we find the Letters-patent directed into Ireland, for levying of money to help to pay this debt to Lewis the Son of the French King. In the Rolls of Gaſcony, we find the ſame

Letters for the gentlemen and merchants of Ireland, of whoſe names there is a liſt, to give him aid on his expedition into Aquitain. An Ordinance likewiſe in Edward the Third's time, for the perſonal taxing of them that lived in England, and let lands and tenements in Ireland.

In 1631, the Lord-primate Uſher publiſhed the firſt *Latin* Book printed in Ireland, "The Hiſtory of Gotteſchalcus, and "the Predeſtinarian Doctrine ſtirred by him." He was a Monk of the Abbey of Orbais, in the beginning of the ninth century, whipped, impriſoned, and would not recant many things condemned by Councils againſt his doctrines, which he never held.

A Memorandum in Biſhop Uſher's hand: "The King, "[meaning Charles the Firſt,] George duke of Buckingham being "then preſent, of his own accord, ſaid to me, *That he never "loved Popery in all his life; but that he never deteſted it before "his going into Spain.*"

This Prelate proved the Antiquity and Primacy of his See to have preceded that of Dublin by many ages. The King gave him that precedency, without his ſeeking, by the lord chancellor.

In 1634, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England received by the Convocation of Ireland as theirs. The Book of Engliſh Canons not received, as though it might prejudice the liberties of the Iriſh Church; but there was a new Book of Canons made, as will appear to thoſe who will compare the Engliſh and Iriſh Canons.

In the troubles of the Civil War, he was invited by the Univerſity of Leyden to be Honorary Profeſſor, with a more ample ſtipend. Cardinal Richlieu made him an invitation to come into France, with a noble penſion, and freedom of religion. The Cardinal had before ſent him a Letter, and a Gold Medal with his own effigies, upon publiſhing his Book "De Primordiis Ec-"cleſiarum Britannicarum." The Primate returned him a preſent of Iriſh Greyhounds. The Archbiſhop conjectured, that Doſitheus, the falſe Meſſias, was the corrupter of the Samaritan Pentateuch, as we now have it.—Archbiſhop Uſher with the lady Stradling at St. Donate's [q]. Sir Edward Stradling [r], a great Antiquary, and Friend of Mr. Camden's.

Biſhop

[q] He went to the caſtle of St. Donate, in Glamorganſhire, for ſecurity, when the king's affairs began to decline.

[r] He was at the charge of ſuch Herculean works for the public good, that

Biſhop Uſher preached [s] Selden's Funeral Sermon; in which, he ſaid, "He looked upon him as ſo great a ſcholar, that himſelf "was not worthy to carry his books after him." Cromwell ſent for Uſher, and uſed him with great outward kindneſs and civility. He was, from St. Patrick, the hundreth Biſhop of Armagh. Among his Manuſcripts are, "Chronologia Legum Codicis "Theodoſiani et Juſtiniani collata cum Malmeſburienſi Ma-"nuſcripto;" with a Collection of his Letters, &c.

Petrus Bertius, the Remonſtrant, turned Roman Catholick. He has written a Book called "Hymenæus Deſertor," and printed an oration of the motive to his converſion; of which biſhop Uſher ſays, "He never ſaw a more ſilly and miſerable "Diſcourſe proceed from the hands of a learned man."

There was one Mr. Richard James [t], who wrote a Book called "Becket's Decanonization;" of which his unkle Dr. Thomas James ſays, "It is a Book ſo nearly concerning kingly "dignity, and ſo fully opening the hiſtory of thoſe times, that I "know not where a man ſhall read the like." Our Author has

that no man in his time went beyond him; but above all he is to be remembered for his ſingular knowledge in the Britiſh language and antiquities, for his eminent encouragement of learning and learned men, and for his great expence and indefatigable induſtry in collecting together ſeveral monuments and ancient manuſcripts of learning and antiquity. See Wood, I. 350.

[s] March 20, 1655-6; the day before his own death.

[t] Born at Newport in the Iſle of Wight; admitted ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College, Sept. 23, 1608, aged about 16. He was a great traveller, and well verſed in moſt parts of learning; being a good Poet, Critic, Antiquary, Divine, and ſkilled in the Greek, Saxon, and Gothic languages. The famous Selden was much beholden to his aſſiſtance when he publiſhed the Marmora Arundeliana, acknowledging him in the Preface to be "vir multijugæ ſtudii indefatigabilis." Sir Robert Cotton alſo, his great patron, and his ſon Sir Thomas, could not but acknowledge his like induſtry, in ordering, diſpoſing, and ſettling, their incomparable Library. He died in December, 1638. Beſides ſeveral works printed in his lifetime, he left behind ſeveral Mſſ. to the number of about 45, which were depoſited in the Bodleian Library. Amongſt the latter, are obſervations made by him in his travels through Wales, Scotland, Shetland, Greenland, &c.; and, "Obſervations made on the Country, with the Manners "and Cuſtoms, of Ruſſia, or Ruſland, an. 1619." See more particulars in Wood, I. 617.

given

given us no light into what time this Book appeared in; but all ſeem probable to be in king James the Firſt's.

There is a Book of Mr. Richard Tracey's, who flouriſhed 1550, intituled, "A Preparation to the Croſs," found in the belly of a Cod-fiſh, at Cambridge [u].

Rabbi Abraham Trebanes, a Spaniſh Jew, in the Bundle of "Myrrh," ſays, "That, after five thouſand ſix hundred years "of the world are expired, and before the end of the ſix hun- "dredth year, when they ſay the world ſhall end—in this in- "terim of four hundred years, wherein we now live, ſhall be "the fall of Rome, which they call Edom typically; and then "Redemption ſhall come in to Iſrael."

Hackin tells us, in the Firſt of Geneſis, how many Alphabets there are in the Law, viz. one thouſand eight hundred. Of an Edomite, Obadiah, who became a Proſelyte, and then was ſent to propheſy againſt Edom; of whom the Rabbies have this Proverb, "The Muſtard-pot bites the Muſtard-pot-maker." This Hundred and Second Epiſtle is put by Ralph Skinner before his tranſlation of Rambanus into Engliſh, and dedicated to Biſhop Uſher. Letter 103, Claudius Duret's Hiſtory of the Language of the Univerſe, fits a gentleman with diſcourſe of every nation. Letter 104, Conradus Graſerus, on the laſt verſes of the Eleventh Chapter of Daniel, holds tenets contrary to Julius and Broughton. Letter 105, Mr. Skinner ſays, that Iſrael did not go over the Red Sea *tranſverſim*; for he went into and out of the Sea, keeping the ſame ſide. It is Abſon Ezras's opinion. "We "know," ſays he, "that there is no Red Sea between Egypt "and the Land of Iſrael; neither is there any need that they "ſhould go into the Red Sea; becauſe it was not the way to "Canaan; only God commanded them ſo to do, to the end "that the Egyptians might go after them, and be drowned." Now, from the Wilderneſs of Etham Iſrael entered the Sea, and into the Wilderneſs of Etham they went out again.

[u] Wood tells us, this book, which was printed in 8vo, 1540, and dedicated to lord Cromwell, was found, wrapped up in canvaſs, in the belly of a cod, and brought from Lynn to Cambridge Market, to be ſold, on Midſummer eve, 1626: it was re-printed ſoon after, under the name of John Fryth.—See an account of Tracey and his writings, Athen. I. 102.

A

At the beginning of the Eighth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis, when Minos leaves Scylla behind him; after ſhe, for love of him, had cut off her father's purple, there is as much occaſion for a good Epiſtle to be written from her to Minos, as any of the ſubjects which Ovid himſelf had choſen.

" Et cum Pirithoo felix concordia Theſeus [w]."

They were among thoſe who came to hunt the Boar, which Diana had ſent to puniſh Oeneus; and, in the purſuit [x], we have the care which Theſeus ſhewed for his Friend:

" Ibat in adverſum proles Ixionis hoſtem
" Pirithous, validâ quatiens venabula dextrâ;
" Cui procul Ægides, O me mihi carior, inquit,
" Pars animæ conſiſte meæ: licet eminus eſſe
" Fortibus: Ancæo nocuit temeraria virtus.
" Dixit: et æratâ torſit grave cuſpide cornum:
" Quo bene librato votíque potente futuro,
" Obſtitit eſculeâ frondoſus ab arbore ramus."

" The Blatant Beaſt Muzzled; or, Reflections on a late Libel, " intituled, The Secret Hiſtory of King Charles the Firſt, and " King James the Second." There is nothing good in it, but a large Letter of Mr. Sergeant's; in which he diſcovers the roguery of Rookwood, who had formerly betrayed the King to Oliver, who would have ſuborned him with ten thouſand pounds from my Lord Shafteſbury; and would have forced him to be a diſcovery of *two plots*, that he never ſo much as thought a ſyllable of.

The Ninth Book of Ovid's Metamorphoſis ſeems to me to be more exactly written throughout, than any of the former; and the Tenth Book is very well, eſpecially the ſtory of Orpheus.

Speaking of Adonis, he ſays,

" Laudaret faciem Livor quoque: qualia namque
" Corpora nudorum tabulâ pinguntur Amorum,
" Talis erat: ſed ne faciat diſcrimina cultus,
" Aut huic adde leves, aut illis deme pharetras."

" The Dove, or Paſſages of Coſmography, by Richard " Zouch, Civilian, of New College, Oxon, printed at Lon-

w Metamorph. lib. viii. 303.

x Ver. 403—410.

" don,

" don, 1613," 8vo. Zouch is a very indifferent Poet [y], as you may judge:

" Old Wincheſter, the ancient ſeat of kings,
" For virtue, and for valour, much renown'd,
" So ſubject unto change are earthly things,
" Inſtead of diadems, with bays is crown'd.
" Where worthy Wickham's children now maintain
" The fame once known by great king Arthur's train."

" The Works of Mercy, both Corporal and Spiritual, a Poem, " by Richard Crane." Very dull.

" Cure for the Itch; Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs, &c. " by H. R." They are all very dull.

Cartwright's [z] Poems ſeem to me very indifferent. The firſt is a panegyrick on the famous Beauty of King Charles the Firſt's Court, Lucy [a] counteſs of Carliſle. He has a Copy of drolling Verſes upon Mr. Stoker's " Art of Vaulting."

To Lydia, whom men obſerved to make too *much* of him.

" You ſay you ought howe'er to do
" The ſame thing ſtill; I ſay ſo too.

" Let

[y] He was, however, according to Wood, " an exact Artiſt, a ſubtle " Logician, expert Hiſtorian, and for the knowledge in, and practice of, " the Civil Law, the chief perſon of his time." He was born in 1590, choſen king's profeſſor of civil law in 1620, and was afterward lord warden of the cinque ports, and judge of the high court of admiralty. He died March 1, 1660. He wrote a great many treatiſes, principally relating to matters in his own profeſſion. See a liſt of them, and a further account of Dr. Zouch, Athen. II. 255.

[z] William Cartwright, M. A. born in Sept. 1611, had the higheſt reputation of any man of his time in the univerſity of Oxford, for poetry, oratory, and philoſophy. His " Royal Slave" was acted before the king and queen by his fellow-ſtudents of Chriſt Church; of whom the moſt applauded was Mr. Buſby (of whom, ſee vol. III. p. 291.). He was ſuccentor of Sal ſbury, junior proctor and metaphyſical reader to the univerſity; and died Dec. 23, 1643. There are extant four of his plays, beſides other poems, which were printed together in 1657, accompanied by above 50 copies of commendatory verſes by the wits of the univerſity.

[a] Daughter of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and wife of James Hay earl of Carliſle. She holds the next place to Sachariſſa in the poems of Waller, and appears there to much greater advantage than ſhe does in the

" Let tongues be free, ſay what they will
" Say, our love's loud; but let's love ſtill.
" I hate a ſecret ſtifled flame,
" Let yours and mine have *found* and *name*;
" Who cenſures what's 'twixt us, I ſee,
" Condemns not you, but envies me." Stanza iii.

He has a copy of verſes on Sir Francis Kynaſton's Tranſlation of Troilus and Creſſida [b].

There is a Book called " Il Putaniſmo di Roma; or the Vices " of Rome." It is a very ſilly, filthy thing, and ill tranſlated by J. D. Eſq.

I think it very odd, in " The Rape, or the Innocent Im- " poſtors [c]," to ſee an Epiſtle dedicated to ſo great a perſon and excellent a judge as my lord Dorſet, without a name to it.

Criticiſms and Remarks in Poetry, &c. as might tend to the Honour of the Britiſh Name and Literature [d].

To collect ſome of Speneer's; particularly an Eclogue of Colin, very well turned into Latin verſe. Kynaſton's Chaucer [e], a peculiar piece of Poetry; Dean Aldrich [f] has taken pains to give us Notes. The firſt Book only publiſhed. There are Engliſh Songs turned into Latin Rhimes. See Cooper's " Sir " Eglemore," in Latin. " The Macaronick," by the Queen's

the portraits of Van Dyck. She was the reputed miſtreſs, firſt of Strafford, and then of Pym. See ſome curious anecdotes of her in Granger.

[b] Printed at Oxford, in 4to, 1635, and uſhered into the world by 15 copies of verſes by the wits of Oxford. Mr. Kynaſton is repreſented as " more addicted to the ſuperficial parts of Learning, Poetry, and Oratory " (wherein he excelled), than Logic and Philoſophy." He was knighted in 1618, and made eſquire of the body to king Charles I. He was the firſt regent of the college called " The Muſeum Minervæ, an. 1635;" and was quaintly ſtyled, by Sir John Borough, " Palladii Patrimæque " virginis Protomyſtes." He publiſhed the conſtitutions of this Muſeum in 1636, 4to; and died in 1642. See Wood, II, 20.

[c] A Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal 1692. It was the production of Dr. Brady, and introduced to the ſtage by Shadwell.

[d] To encourage a collection of this kind, our Author recommends ſuch Obſervations on Books, Manuſcripts, &c. as he had met with.

[e] The abovementioned tranſlation of Troilus and Creſſida.

[f] See the Obſervations at the end of vol. III.

Men.

Men. "Polemo-Middinia [g]," by Dr. Gibſon, preſent Biſhop of London; with "Chriſt's Kirk on the Green," by James the Fourth of Scotland. More modern Songs turned into Latin by Mr. Cotchet of Derby and Mr. Oughton of Doctors Commons, well worthy collecting. To give a ſpecimen of thoſe ſtrong lines in Cleveland:

"Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang'd his doom;
"Not ſent him wander, but confin'd him home."

Leland, Bale, and Wood's Antiquities, with the Catalogue of Manuſcripts in the Bodleian Library, are neceſſary to be conſulted. Farnaby [h] has enriched us with the tranſlation of ſeveral Greek Epigrams into Latin: Alſop [i], with the tranſlation of Fables, from Greek, Hebrew, and Arabick. Several good copies of Verſes under Pictures. If Iſcanus's books can be got, ſee for the Remains of his Antiochus; likewiſe Mr. Newey, Dr. Jan, Thynne, Talbot, Stepney. There is a collection of Prophecies, I know not exactly in what times. See Eltham's Verſes againſt Wickliffe, the Libel and Satire of thoſe times. Sir Thomas More, a great *Epigrammatiſt*.

Vernon [k] of Chriſt Church has a Journey in Latin verſe. Hobbes has written a Chronology in verſe, to ſhew the difficulty of

[g] Publiſhed at Oxford in 4to, 1691. The title is "Polemo-Middinia, "Carmen Macaronicum, Autore Gulielmo Drummundo, Scoto-Britanno. "Accidet Jacobi id nominis Quinti Regis Scotorum Cantilena Ruſtica, "vulgo inſcripta *Chriſt's Kirk on the Green*. Recenſuit, Notiſque illuſ-"travit, E. G."

[h] Thomas Farnaby was born about 1575, and died June 12, 1647. He was the chief Grammarian, Rhetorician, Poet, Latiniſt, and Grecian of his time; and his School was ſo much frequented, that more Churchmen and Stateſmen iſſued thence than from any ſchool taught by one man in England. Many writers have ſpoken with great approbation of his labours. Mr. Bayle, in particular, ſays, that "his notes upon moſt "of the ancient Latin poets have been of very great uſe to young begin-"ners, being ſhort, learned, and deſigned chiefly to clear up the text." See a liſt of them, in Wood, II. 104.

[i] Very ſlightingly mentioned by Dr. Bentley, under the name of "a late "editor of the Æſopean Fables," Pref. to his Diſſertation, p. xliii.

[k] Author of "Oxonium, Poema, 1667," 4to. He was born about 1637; and, being poſſeſſed of an inſatiable deſire of travelling, viſited many parts of the world. His remarks in paſſing through Iſtria, Dal-

of ſuch writing. Our Grammar of Lily, and Robinſon's "Quæ "Genus," have a ſpirit of Poetry. Dr. Buſby's "Sume, Puer," ſhews all that he has run through in verſe. I had once a Book of one Willis, I think a Wincheſter Scholar; he has all ſorts of verſes; as Anagrams, &c. in Hieroglyphicks, and a Chronology of the Biſhops of Wincheſter.

All the Oxford and Cambridge Verſes upon the Deaths, Births, and Marriages, of Princes and great men: I believe there are many good ones upon Sir Philip Sidney, when they began to be in faſhion. There is a book of Pictures, called "Hierologia;" and I think one Sparks made an excellent Copy of Verſes about a Sparrow. I have heard of excellent Lent Verſes of Throckmorton's, and ſeveral others. Mr. Whitfield of Chriſt Church has Verſes of his own; and Mr. Atterbury did intend to publiſh ſome Poems of Corbet, Owen, and his Brother, among various others: To give an account of them, and ſeveral extempore Verſes made at Weſtminſter, Merchant Taylors, Eaton, and Wincheſter, when Dr. Altham, Dr. Iſham, and Dr. Wall, were Cenſors.

Fiſher[l] calls himſelf Piſcator. He was a famous Latin Poet; and wrote Verſes upon Oliver, by way of panegyrick. He ſeems to imitate Claudian in his ſtyle, as I remember.

It would be of great uſe and honour to our country, to tranſlate ſome of our Engliſh Poets into Latin, to ſhew Foreigners, that do not underſtand our language, what the ſpirit of our Poets is. "Abſalom and Achitophel" as a ſpecimen, and Cowley's "Davideis," beſides many others; and, I think, one of Coward's[m].

matia, Greece, and the Archipelago, to Smyrna, are printed in Phil. Tranſ. N° 124. He was cruelly murdered, by ſome Arabs, in Perſia, about 1677.

[l] Payne Fiſher, or Paganus Piſcator as he called himſelf, was born in 1616, and died April 2, 1693. He wrote and publiſhed a prodigious number of books, as may be ſeen in Wood, II. 899; where is a very ſatisfactory account of him.

[m] Dr. William Coward, born in 1656, after ſome years practice at Northampton, ſettled at London as a phyſician in 1693. He tranſlated "Abſalom and Achitophel" into Latin verſe in 1682; and was *ſchooled* for it in his College (Hart Hall). The ſame poem was afterwards tranſlated by Atterbury and Hickman with better ſucceſs.

Dr.

Dr. Lockey's Epitaph Inſcriptions on Marble in Oxford. The two Brothers in Maudlin College. A pretty Epigram upon the two Reynolds, who converted one another. Whether there are not ſome Latin Poems in Hackluit? What Tranſlations have we of *ours*, of Greek and Latin? modern Languages into Latin? and Engliſh into Latin? Whether Gower had not Latin Verſes? Sure, there are very good Verſes upon Trinity Sunday at Cambridge. Quære, Talbot, for ſome of them? They have *jocoſe* Verſes, called Corrections. I believe Wilmot has ſome good ones.

Enquire for Leland's "Cygnea Cantia." Leland ſays, "Henr. "Huntingdon Alfredum Regem à fortitudine illuſtri carmine "collaudat." If the Poem is not loſt, you will find it in the Life of Alfred, printed at Oxford. See what Poets among the Saxons?

What Epigrams of the Engliſh Vates approved of? what Poems or Epigrams in Select Collections? Vavaſor ſays, "Plu-"tarcho Autore, Poeta melior ante Ciceronem, quam Cicero "ipſe;" by which means, the ancient Poets of our own nation may be defended; for Cicero, though none of the beſt, was none of the worſt. Leland's Hendecaſyllables run very eaſy. See Plumtree's Epigrams, and the Batrachomyomachia, 1626. The laſt very pretty.

Dr. Pococke, in one of his Books of Verſes, has turned his own Arabick Verſes into very good Latin. See if no Latin Verſes remain of Ephraim Howard. Duport's Poems in Greek excellent. See all the Greek Poets. Milton has ſome. Dr. Ratcliffe, the Canon of Chriſt Church, has a very good Copy of Verſes. Duport's Latin Verſes. One of Biſhop Fell's [n], when he was old, have a great deal of ſpirit in them. Look if Verſtegan does not give us an account of the Poets of Antiquity; and what there is any where ſaid of the Druids.

Wake's "Rex Platonicus," upon King James's coming to Oxford, 1605. There is an account of all the Oxford and Cambridge Entertainments in Verſe, upon the coming of great perſons; which will make a pretty hiſtory. Alexander Roſs's "Virgilius Evangelizans," and what other Canto's we may hav

[n] Dr. John Fell was born June 23, 1625; was advanced to the ſee of Oxford in 1665-6; and died July 10, 1686.

of

of that nature. Auſonius ſeems the parent of that ſort of Poetry.

To read Voſſius of Hiſtorians and Poets. The Biſhop of Litchfield's Technical Verſes for Chronology; a ſtupendous Work, comprehending that learning through many ages ſo ſhort, that nothing can be a greater inſtance, "memoriam in artem "poſſe redigi." In the beginning, the Britons were ſatisfied to be the ſubject of Poetry. See what the Poets from time to time have ſaid of the Britons; Flavia, Martial, Scæva: and what Saints Lives the Monks deſcribed in Verſe.

Leland has written of King Arthur. Merlin's Propheſies. Thalieſſin, a Welſh Poet, of Welſh Poetry. If one Price has not written a Defence of King Arthur? Alford, in four volumes of Annals of the Church of England. Mr. Jones of Sunningwell has a great many of Biſhop Fell's papers. I remember Dr. Smallridge [o] had a very good copy about Regulus, whoſe eyelids were cut off.

Verſes on King Charles's Reſtoration; wherein Dr. Bathurſt [p] ſeems to lead them on with the true ſpirit of Poetry. One Nicholas Car has an Oration on the Paucity of Engliſh Writers, ſpoken at Cambridge, and printed at London, 1576. It is very ſcarce to be met with; as is alſo Waræus, for Iriſh Poets. I do not remember to have ſeen ever a Latin Poem of Mr. Dryden's, Drayton, Cartwright's, Sir John Suckling, Marvel's, Otway's, or Sir Philip Sidney's. I think Oldham has none.

I have heard, that either Archbiſhop Laud, or Sir John Robinſon, left a hundred pounds to any that would tranſlate Laud againſt Fiſher into Latin.

Whether there are not good Burleſque Latin Verſes in ſome of the Terræ-filius's Speeches, and a Greek Macaronic Poem of Cobb's called Βίκκον? The Dean (Dr. Aldrich) has told me of one made upon "Meat on a Dreſſer," as I remember.

Whether Jonas the Prophet is not put into Greek Verſe, and other Parts of the Bible, beſides what is done by Duport? There

[o] See vol. II. p. 217.

[p] Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, preſident of Trinity College, Oxford, and vice chancellor of that univerſity, was born in 1620; and died June 14, 1704. In him were united the orator and the poet, the philoſopher and the divine. He poſſeſſed an inexhauſtible fund of wit, and was the facetious companion at 80 years of age. His Life was publiſhed by Mr. Warton, in 1761, 8vo.

is a very good Greek Anacreontick upon General Monk; but, I believe, done by a Foreigner, however not an Engliſhman; therefore we are the more beholden to him. Thomas Linacre [q], an eminent Engliſh Phyſician, has not only taught, but written correctly in verſe: for the common Latin Grammar and Verſes therein are aſſigned to him.

The Common Law has itsPoetry, as we find in the Inſtructions before Coke; and I believe the Memorial Verſes.

We ought to make Collections of what Engliſhmen have been famous beyond Seas, for their Poetry, in the Colleges of the Jeſuits, Benedictines, and other Seminaries abroad, that nothing may be wanting for the glory of the Britiſh Nation. To know what Poetry we have from our Colonies in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. See the Epitaph of the Britiſh Prince, in Herbert's Travels; Hackluit, p. 507, 508. Where are Columbus's Verſes to Henry the Seventh, and the Poetry of that time? I know of no Latin Verſes ſent us from thoſe parts; but we had ſeveral Gentlemen of the Weſt Indies that have ſpoken in the Theatre; as I remember a Gentleman of Wadham College, Hanmer, I think, or ſome ſuch name, who ſpoke in the Theatre about Barbadoes; but, *inſtar omnium*, Colonel Codridgton ought to be mentioned, to his honour and that of the Plantations, as one that excelled both in Poetry and Oratory.

No doubt but there are many remains of Poetry left by our Countrymen behind them, in the Holy Land, in Cyprus, Malta, and wherever our Knights travelled; in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Germany, &c.

Some obſervations of the Life of Cardinal Pole, printed 1686. See his Life written by ſeveral hands. I am miſtaken if he was not a Poet, or if I have not ſeen ſeveral Verſes upon him. Verſes addreſſed to Engliſhmen: for it is equal glory to be the ſubject, as the Author. There is a pretty Song of the Laplanders

[q] Born about 1460, and choſen fellow of All Souls College in 1684. He compleated his education at Florence, under the patronage of Lorenzo de Medicis; and on his return was appointed preceptor to prince Arthur, ſon to Henry VII. He was afterward phyſician to that king, to Henry VIII, and to the princeſs Mary; was the firſt preſident of the college of phyſicians; and died Oct. 20, 1524. See many curious particulars of him in Dr. Freind's "Hiſtory of Phyſic;" and in Dr. Jortin's "Life of "Eraſmus."

in

in Scheffer. Sir John Harrington has Four Books of Epigrams; but I ſuppoſe all Engliſh.

" — Vendit Laplandia Ventos:
" Oh! utinam poſſis vendere, Roma, tuos!"

I think Arnold's Verſes upon Otho, at a Weſtminſter Election, to ſpeak modeſtly, a ſign at leaſt that he had ſtudied Martial and the force of Epigram to a good purpoſe. I think we have a good collection of ſuch ſort of Poems in Chriſt-Church Library. What a whimſical Book is Andreæ Guarrel's " Bellum Grammaticale;" and that of Waſe, " De Legibus et " Licentia Veterum Poetarum," of antient Poetical Licence; and Voſſius " De viribus Rythmæ," of the force of Rhyme; printed at the Theatre!

I ſee no reaſon why it is improper to mention ſuch trifles as theſe to Poetry, and the true underſtanding of the nature and movement of it. *Momenta*, a word that Dr. Buſby uſes in his Logick for *Movimenta*. Whether there are no Memorial Verſes in his Logick; I am ſure there are ſeveral in the Dean's (Dr. Aldrich), and in Crackenthorpe. It were to be wiſhed that the Memorial Verſes, in all Sciences, were collected together, and printed: I am ſure it would be of more uſe than a large Folio compoſed of ſuch Authors as have written upon Paradoxes or ridiculous ſubjects; ſuch are ſilly; as one that I have ſeen in Lord Clarendon's Library, but have forgot the name, and whether there were any Engliſhmen among them. Mr. Wells, if I miſtake not, was about putting forth Leland and Mr. Harrington; it would be a prodigious help, and indeed, in a manner, the perfection of the Work to that time.

If the Author of Hudibras has left any Latin behind him, it would be the beſt in that kind: his thoughts are ſo juſt, his images ſo lively, ſuch a deep inſight into the nature of mankind and the humour of thoſe times, that no true hiſtory could be written without ſtudying that Author.

It is pity that the fineſt of our Engliſh Poets, eſpecially the divine Shakeſpeare, had not communicated their beauties to the world ſo as to be underſtood in Latin, whereby Foreigners have ſuſtained ſo great a loſs to this day; when all of them were inexcuſable, but the moſt inimitable Shakeſpeare. I am ſo far from being envious, and deſirous to keep thoſe treaſures to ourſelves, that I could wiſh all our moſt excellent Poets tranſlated into Latin, that are not ſo already. We owe much to Leland's

ſearch for England's antiquities: he ſtood in the midſt of learning and deſtruction.

There are Panegyric Verſes upon Tom Coryat's Crudities. All the Wits of the time wrote upon it; ſo notice muſt be taken. There is a Poem in the Dean's ſtudy, with Verſes before it of the like nature, called Joannides, or ſuch name, by a Batchelor of Arts of New Inn Hall, Oxon. To ſhew that there is ſcarce any thing that the Engliſh genius has left unattempted, Sir Philip Sidney did endeavour to bring Engliſh words under moſt part of the ancient meaſures of the Latin; as Hexameters, Pentameters, &c. It is a long time ſince I ſaw them. To pick out the beſt.

I remember there is a Book of Engliſh Epithets, printed by Browne, where there is Addiſon's Preface before it; in which he ſpeaks of a copy of Verſes made to Ben Jonſon,

"Benjamin, immortal Jonſon! moſt highly renowned."

Where are theſe two lines, or did I make them?

"Credula res amor eſt, cauſas ſibi fingit inertes,
"Quas credit fallaxque ſua bene fallitur arte."

I think there is a Latin Epitaph upon the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, that was murdered. Sir Henry Savile, in his Edition of the Engliſh Hiſtorians, commends William of Malmeſbury extremely. Carcaſs, as well as Nat Lee, though mad, and in Bedlam, has written ſome good Latin Verſes. Phil. Dwight told me of a Book of Love Verſes that George Pope admires. Dwight has written Verſes upon Mrs. Killigrew.

Doctor Plot tells us of one Dudley[r], that went to Florence, and was there made Duke of Northumberland, Earl of Warwick and Leiceſter, by the Pope, or ſomebody elſe. He was a great Engineer; and his family remain there in wealth and honour. See if his Book is not in the Public Library, and if any verſes before it. Florio has written concerning Jane Grey. Lapinius, "Inſtitutiones Linguæ Florentinæ," ſays, Paulus Roſcius, Eques Hieroſolymitanus, has made Italian Heroic Verſes; which muſt be much eaſier, and run in better numbers, than Engliſh.

Sta, pes; ſta peto, pes; peto, pes, ſta; ſta, peto, mi pes:
"Stand, foot; ſtand, pr'ythee, foot; prythee, foot, ſtand;
"ſtand, prythee, my foot:"

ſaid to be made by Waſe. His Senarius is of great uſe to Latin Verſe; I wiſh more of it were printed, as he promiſed.

[r] See Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Noble Authors, vol. II.

Eli-

Elizabetha-Joanna Weſtwood, an Engliſhwoman, printed Poems at Prague, in King James the Firſt's time: ſhe complains of misfortunes. Scaliger writes to her. She has a great love for her native country.

Camden's Britannia. A Marriage of Thame and Iſis. The Preface ſuppoſes it written by him, as I do; the Tranſlation by Mr. Kennet; very well. Henry Huntingdon has good Verſes about the Thames, or London, I cannot tell which. I find that Camden does not approve of Alexander Newchamp. Round Great Tom of Weſtminſter were theſe Verſes:

"Tertius aptavit me Rex Edvardusque vocavit,
"Edvardi decor eſt Sancti ſignentur ut horæ."

How Sir Philip Sidney and others have imitated numbers of the Latin and Greek Verſes in the Engliſh tongue. Before Barton's Pſalms are a dull copy of Verſes, in Latin, with forty Preſbyterian Parſons names to it.

Mr. Aſhmole's Prolegomena to his "Theatrum Chemicum," now extant in Latin Verſe; publiſhed by Hermannus, but very imperfectly. The ſecond of the firſt Chriſtian Philoſopher, who, travelling abroad, and returning hither in the reign of William the Conqueror, tranſplanted the Chemical Muſe. It is called "The Garland; ob Coronam Hermeticam et Poeticam."

Anno 735, Aldhelm, biſhop of Sherborn, taken out of Wincheſter, the firſt Engliſhman who made Latin Verſes:

"Primus ego in Patriam mecum modo vita ſuperſit,
"Aonio rediens deducam vertice Muſas."

I have found it ſomewhere among my Books, that Sir Thomas More had three daughters [s], all ſcholars; I think I have ſeen ſome of their Poetry: one of them has drawn his Picture, which is in the Public Library.

Hackluyt, in his pieces, ſpeaks greatly of Sir John Mandevil [t], for a traveller; and places him in the Eaſt: we had then little intercourſe with Africa, or the Abyſſines. Queen Elizabeth, in her embaſſy to Morocco, ſpeaking to the emperor of the king of Spain, ſays, "I neither like of him nor his Religion; for he "is ſo governed by the Inquiſition, that he can do no nothing "of himſelf."

[s] See London Magazine, 1745, pag. 30.
[t] Of whom, ſee vol. II. p. 62.

Heretofore Gentlemen applied to the War, leaving Learning and Trade to the meaner ſort; and now they leave Trade, to turn Gentlemen. Where ſhall we find rich Citizens daughters for our decayed young Noblemen to match with? Sir Thomas Greſham, in his Memoirs, mentions Letters written by him to the emperor of Morocco. Says Hackluyt, "Was not the "Founder of the Charter-houſe a merchant?" What Lives of Merchants and Citizens of eminence have been written? It is a pity if none or few are found. Whether there is not a Life written of my great grandfather La Motte? He was a Merchant of note.

There is ſuch an air of piety runs throughout all Hackluyt's Diſcoveries, that makes it ſeem as if that alone made them ſucceſsful. What ſignified all the Buccaneers *proſperity* without *virtue?* to what authority did all their wars and conqueſts bring them, but to make one another *rich* and *vicious?*

Records concerning our Engliſh Trade and Privileges in Portugal, highly neceſſary to be known to our Merchants. Mr. Altham tells us, from Stow's Survey of London, that Greſham College was deſigned for an univerſal correſpondence of trade and Commerce; undoubtedly not of *cockle-ſhells* and *butterflies:* for we are abſolute ſtrangers at this time to the Portugal Trade in Braſil, on the Coaſt of Africa, and elſewhere; where they have vaſt dominions and powerful princes, either tributary to them, or abſolutely under their ſubjection.

Men may differ in conſtructions; but to do it in Grammar, by reſiſting of rules and ſignification of words, is intolerable. I could not maintain ſuch things, whatever others may do.

We learn more from Solon's Letters than from his Life: Quære, whether in Plutarch or Laërtius? Piſiſtratus's Letters, and the Cabala, very uſeful pieces of Hiſtory. Theſe Letters agreeable to wiſe Commonwealths. A Letter of Cæſar Borgia. Quære, whether forged? But ſuppoſing ſuch a Manuſcript found; I ſhould look for the *ſpirit* of the Author, and a proper deſcription of the ſtate of Italy at that time; with the ſeveral intrigues of thoſe courts; and not be concerned, if ſome words were not to be found in the Dictionary ſet forth by the Academy of Florence: for, as we ſee the abuſe, ſo we ſee the admirable uſe of Criticiſm when in the hands of a Gentleman: there, Grammar ſhews itſelf in *decency*, without *affectation*. Grammar is not to be neglected; for,

for, as it is a folly for a man who knows good language to be proud of formal ſet expreſſions; ſo it is no commendation for a man of quality, though the ſenſe ſhould be good, not to be able to ſpell or write *good* Engliſh.

Dr. Bentley's Sancho. He ſays, That ſomebody had been a little upon ἀπότομος with ſomebody, who had interſperſed nipping *ſarcaſms*, and by *medicaments* had cured his pen of a *diarrhœa*. Bleſs me! thought I, when the Grand Jury were preſenting of Books, how came this to eſcape a preſentation; for confounding, as far as this perſon can, the *mother tongue* of his country, and uſing the *black art*, by way of phyſick, to apply the ἀπότομος and nipping *ſarcaſms* to cure his pen of a *diarrhœa*; meaning and intending thereby to mend *pens*, by ſuch diabolical ways, inſtead of *penknives*, to the ruin of the ancient corporation of Cutlers?

How is it poſſible for any Juryman to know that this is not conjuring? Perhaps the Author, in his defence, would ſay, it is Greek; but what Foreman of the Jury would not inſtantly reply, "That then it is Heathen Greek; and, if he would make "uſe of Greek in England, he ſhould uſe ſuch as is *authentic*; "to wit,

"Shouldra Mutton, a Capon, Half a Gooſe, and Paſty
"Veniſon;

"and then there might have been ſome ſenſe in his Greek." I could ſooner have thought them forged in the latter times, when the Guelphs and Gibbelines, and the little commonwealths up and down Italy, bore ſway in the world.

In Procopius's Hiſtory of the Wars of Juſtinian, Agathias and Epiphanenſis, two learned Writers about the ſame time with Procopius. Procopius was made a Senator; and about the 25th of Juſtinian, he arrived at the higheſt Dignity that can befal a Senator, to be made Præfect of the City, an Office like Lord Mayor of London; about the ſame time he finiſhed his Ancedotes. The Emperor enjoined him to write a Book Περὶ τῶν κατισμάτων, of the Buildings erected by the Emperor Juſtinian.

In Procopius's Hiſtory, Rome is ſeveral times loſt and recovered. Arcadius, about to die, and leave his ſon Theodoſius an infant, leaves by his teſtament Iſdegardes king of Perſia his protector; who, renowned for his nobleneſs of ſoul, ſhewed it more than ever, by keeping peace with the Romans, and preſerving

ſerving the empire to Theodoſius, A. D. 398. Among the Epthatites, the rich men have each twenty or more companions, to be their perpetual comrades, and to partake in a community of their good. When any principals die, the retainers uſe to be put into the ſame grave with them. The Perſians uſed not to follow the chaſe upon full ſpeed, though their enemy ran away. Their king Cabades commanded that one of their women ſhould be common. They had a place, called "the Tower of Obli-"vion;" where if a man were impriſoned, it was not lawful to mention him, and once to name him was death; ſo great a puniſhment they thought it was to be eternally forgotten. *Let our Dotards on Annihilation reflect on this!*

A pretty ſtory, ſomewhere, about a Dog-fiſh in love with a Pearl. Of the ſtory of Arſaces; who, being in the Tower of Oblivion, and having ſpent the merrieſt day that he ever had with the perſon he loved moſt, would return no more to the miſeries of this life, but ſtabbed himſelf with a knife, taken up no doubt for that very purpoſe at the Feaſt.

In 527, Juſtinian was declared Emperor on Good-Friday. In the ſecond year, he made Belliſarius his general in the Eaſt.

Procopius's ſecret Hiſtory of the Court of the emperor Juſtinian. He therein makes Belliſarius a ſtupid cuckold, and his wife Antonina the moſt profligate woman in the world; to lie with her adopted ſon Theodoſius; to continue her intrigues by murders, ſupported by her intereſt in the empreſs Theodora.

In the reign of Leo, Juſtin and two other brothers came from Illyrium, were made of the emperor's guards, being proper perſonable men. The emperor Anaſtaſius preferred him to be captain of the guards, who after choſe him to be emperor. He was old, could neither write nor read; was not capable of doing his ſubjects either good or harm; was ſottiſh, ſtupid, and very brutiſh. Juſtinian was his ſiſter's ſon, whoſe ſtature was neither too great nor too little: well-proportioned, rather inclining to be fat; his face round and comely, his complexion freſh, very like Domitian: he was crafty, yet eaſy to be deceived; ſo that he might be ſaid to be cunning and weak both together; inconſtant to his friends, and inexorable to his enemies; eaſily perſuaded when any *evil* was to be adviſed, but unmoveable to any action that was *good*.

Theodora

Theodora was bred up on the Stage, a Courtezan, notorious before the emperor, he having firſt taken her for a miſtreſs. He deſcribes her to be very handſome. Both their characters are to conſiſt of *love*, *looſeneſs*, and *cruelty*; which he repeats with tautology. I do not believe it to be Procopius's, but rather ſome Arian's: however, it is no ſuch extraordinary *libel* as to be twice read over; for it is written with no art, but plain matter of fact; which, if true, is downright railing. Procopius was an Heathen, or at leaſt it is dubious what he was.

Proclus, famous in the reign of Anaſtaſius, when Vitaſian came with his fleet againſt Conſtantinople. He hung up brazen plates againſt the ſun, and ſo burnt them that they could not approach the place.

Rivius ſays, that it is his opinion, from his ſerious conſideration of Authors, that Belliſarius never fell into diſgrace; that, by his rival's means, he might not have the favour of being mentioned as he deſerved, but never went further. The Anecdotes were written in the thirty-ſecond year of Juſtinian. Some ſay, Juſtinian lived to be above ninety years of age.

Narſes had the greateſt character of any man of his age. Procopius makes Pope Vigilius to have been a horrid fellow. He makes Bartholus, Faber, and Gennadius, ſay, that Juſtinian was held for a Saint among the Greeks.

Choſroes was of an unruly ſpirit, a great undertaker, troubleſome, full of tumult himſelf, and a great troubler of others. John the Cappadocian, præfect of the city, a wicked fellow; for his conſpiracy againſt the emperor, deprived of all, and reduced to that want which is commonly, though falſely, reported of Belliſarius. In Book II, he commends Sittas for a godly man, valiant, an excellent commander, inferior to none of his time. Choſroes takes Antioch.

The Perſians, of all men, have leaſt of variety in their humours: their manner of life extremely ſtrict, their laws hard of digeſtion, and their commands intolerable.

In reading this Hiſtory of Procopius, by ſome hints given me, I begin to ſuſpect the Secret Hiſtory to be his; but perhaps it might be raiſed by ſome other perſon upon his hints.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

The Chriſtians perſecuted the Jews upon their going to the Cruſade of the Holy Land. It is the obſervation of a *modern* Jew, that the Promiſe of *worldly bleſſings* is ſtill performed to them; that no place which perſecutes them but decays in trade, as Spain is an eminent example; and that receives them is bleſſed for doing ſo, as Holland.

Matthew Paris, p. 29. When Robert duke of Normandy, 1097, went to the Holy War, he had many followers, Engliſh, Normans, Britons, &c. When they came to Conſtantinople, "Holoſericum inauditæ æſtimationis, cum plurimis aliis donis, "ſuſceperunt, qualia prius non viderant, et quæ ipſis etiam "receptoribus ſtuporem inferrent, ſiquidem eorum antea viſa-"rum excederent dignitatem." So that here we began to ſee the luxury of the Eaſtern countries, and conſequently to deſire things of ſo great novelty, value, and beauty. See what may be found in Knolles's excellent Hiſtory of the Turks.

Ludolfus [t], who wrote the Abyſſinian Hiſtory, or his ſon, was in England with Dr. Pocock.

M. Paris, p. 53. "Rex Willielmus è Normanniâ in Angliam "tenuit primò curiam ſuam apud Weſtmonaſterium in Novâ "Aulâ; quam cum inſpecturus cum multâ militiâ introiſſet, cum "alii eam dixiſſent magnam nimis eſſe et æquo majorem; dixit "Rex, eam debitæ magnitudinis dimidiâ parte carere, nec eum "eſſe niſi thalamum ad palatium quod erat facturus."

The Monks look upon it as a judgement that king William died in the New Foreſt; ſee M. Paris, p. 53, 54. After him, Henry, being crowned, confirms by charters the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; and, by confirming the ſubjects property, and eaſing them in ſeveral things whereby they were aggrieved in the former reigns, both clergy and barons agree to his coronation, and promiſe themſelves much happineſs in his government. "Dedit Deus Regi Henrico tria munera, Sapientiam "ſcilicet, Victoriam, et Divitias, quibus ad omnia proſperans "omnes ſuos prædeceſſores præceſſit; ſed in his omnibus factus "eſt Deo ingratiſſimus." P. 63.

M. Paris gives us many inſtances of the Church of Rome's pilling us of monies. Anſelm, in a council, though oppoſed by

[t] See vol. II. p. 91.

his

his king, Henry I, yet depoſed many abbots who had obtained their abbies from lay-hands; nor would he conſecrate the biſhop of Wincheſter elect: but the Pope, upon Anſelm's requeſt, very mercifully reſtores them: "Sedes Clementiſſima, quæ nulli de-"eſſe conſuevit (dummodo albi aliquid vel rubei intercedat) "præſcripto pontifices et abbates ad priſtinas dignitates miſeri-"corditer revocavit."

In 1124, "Juſtitia de Monetariis fit Wintonii;" and in 1125, "Rex omnes Angliæ Monetarios, eo quod monetam furtivè cor-"ruperunt, fecit turpiter ementulari, et manus dexteras præcidi." *Coiners*, ſays the Gloſſary. See Gemiticenſis, lib. vii. cap. 23.

The erecting more towns into cities and biſhops ſees muſt have certainly an influence of trade upon thoſe places, by the acceſſion of a palace, and the confluence of people. Henry VIII's diviſion. See before the See removed from Dorcheſter to Lincoln; though now the Biſhops live moſt at Bugden. Quære, When Ely was made a biſhoprick? when it became not to be a ſhire?

M. Paris, p. 5. The ſtate of learning, when the Normans conquered England. "Optimates gulæ et veneri ſervientes, "etc. Clerici quoque et Ordinati adeo literaturâ carebant, ut "cæteris eſſet ſtupori qui Grammaticam didiciſſet. Potabatur ab "omnibus in commune, et tam dies quam noctes in hoc ſtudio "productæ ſunt." There ſhould go all along a general hiſtory of the ſtate of learning.

P. 62, he ſays of Henry II, "Erat quippe eleganter literatus, "utpote à primævâ ætate præcepto patris addictus literis, et jam "in jure quod audierat ſecreto expeditus."

In 1186, "Obiit maxima mulierum, venerabilis Domina Ma-"tildis, filia regis Anglorum Henrici primi, imperatrix et uxor "Henrici Romanorum imperatoris, et mater Henrici ſecundi "Anglorum regis maximi, unde ejuſdem Matildis Epitaphium:

"Ortu magna, viro major, ſed maxima partu,
"Hic jacet Henrici filia, ſponſa, parens."

Nothing can be cleaner or more expreſſive than this Epigram, whoever was the Author of it. The ſenſe is ſo cloſe, that the Engliſh language cannot expreſs it in two Verſes. That of her ſon, king Henry II, though very eaſy for thoſe times, does not come up to it. We find it in M. Paris, p. 151, anno 1188.

"Rex

" Rex Henricus eram; mihi plurima regna ſubegi,
" Multiplicique modo duxque comeſque fui.
" Cui ſatis ad votum non eſſent omnia terræ
" Climata, terra modo ſufficit octo pedum,
" Qui legis hæc, penſa diſcrimina mortis, et in me
" Humanæ ſpeculum conditionis habe.
" Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non ſuſtulerat orbis."

This laſt verſe is wanting in ſome Mſſ. and very probably ſhould not be added.

He applies that verſe upon the ſucceſſion of king Richard;

" Mira canam; ſol occubuit, nox nulla ſecuta eſt."

This was in every body's mouth upon the ſucceſſion of king James to queen Elizabeth.

The fixing of the Courts to Weſtminſter a great eaſe to trading people. And ſo the Circuits, for the diſpatch of buſineſs in the country; juſtice being brought, in a manner, to their own doors. See Dugdale's Book concerning the Laws[y], &c.

Whether luxury and profuſeneſs of ſome perſons ill for trade. The vaſt magnificence of ſome of our feaſts; though certainly a prudent, modeſt, ſparing temper, is beſt for a trading nation; as we have an undoubted inſtance in Holland.

Anno 1135, " Combuſta eſt eccleſia Sancti Pauli ab igne, qui " accenſus eſt ad pontem qui perrexit uſque ad eccleſiam Da- " norum."

P. 86. Duke Henry comes againſt king Stephen, " cum navi- " bus triginta duabus et militiâ magnâ nimis, &c." Next year king Stephen owns Henry for his heir.

P. 92. King Henry II, upon his coming to the crown, " Alie- " nigenas et maximè Flandrienſes de regno expellendo, et quoſ- " dam pſeudo-comites quibus rex Stephanus pene omnia ad " filum pertinentia minus cautè contulerat, deponendo." See the Index of Walſingham, for Flanders, of their going into Wales.

I remember, my lady Inchiquin ſpoke of mighty heaps of cinders at her eſtate in Montgomeryſhire, where there had been iron-works. Quære, The ſtory of the Fingallians?

Anno 1155, Henry II received the Pope's letters about ſubduing of Ireland. M. Paris, p. 95. That Writer muſt be nicely conſidered by the beſt of the Iriſh Hiſtorians. In 1157, his expedition into Wales.

[y] " Origines Juridiciales," Folio; firſt printed in 1666.

Inter-

Interviews between kings very chargeable. Henry at Paris, 1158. King Henry III very vain that way.

In 1161, in the time of king Henry, "Cantuaria fere omnis "comburitur."

Anno 1166. "Quidam pravi Dogmatis diſſeminatores apud "Oxoniam tracti ſunt in judicium, præſente rege et epiſcopis "regni, quos à Fide Catholicâ devios, et in examine ſuperatos, "facies cauteriata notabiles cunctis expolivit, qui expulſi ſunt à "regno." See Fox's Book of Martyrs. Prynne's Hiſtory of King John.

Anno 1172. King Henry in Ireland. Of this, ſee Giraldus Cambrenſis.

King Henry the Second's reign might ſeem to have been wholly taken up with the vexations and trouble which he met with from that perverſe traitor Thomas à Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was afterwards ſainted for his villanies, and whoſe tomb was more applied to, in caſe of neceſſity, than our Saviour. The ſtory of demoliſhing his ſhrine; the legends of his life; book of his letters; and the Monkiſh Hiſtorians. Several papers concerning this, in Matthew Paris, give many particulars of his life. And the Proteſtants, on the other ſide, do juſtice to ſo great a prince (as Prynne, Maſter Fox, &c.) But that which muſt be moſt grievous to him, and hindered him in the progreſs of thoſe great things he might otherwiſe have done for this nation, was the diſobedience of his ſon Henry, whom he had placed with himſelf on the throne, and whom he loved entirely: but the young king, impatient in having any partner of his power, by the advice of ill counſellors, and not without the connivance and ſecret aſſiſtance of his mother, the haughty queen Eleanor, made ſeveral grievous wars againſt his father, both in England and Normandy; and, which muſt needs be ſtill more afflicting to the king, drew his brothers Richard and Godfrey likewiſe into his party; which increaſed ſo much (all adoring the riſing ſun, and believing that his Monarchy would commence ſpeedily), that the old king was deſerted even by thoſe perſons who had owed their education to him from their childhood. And yet, after all this, the fame and reputation of king Henry the father was ſo great, that, in the year 1176, Adolfus king of Caſtile (who was his ſon-in-law, by marrying his daughter Eleanor) and Sancho king of Navarre, having mutual complaints about countries taken in war

war from each other, made king Henry their umpire; who, in a great aſſembly of his prelates and barons at Weſtminſter, made an accord, to the ſatisfaction of both parties, and to the eſtabliſhment of a firm peace and friendſhip between them. At the ſame time, as if it were to render this aſſembly and court more auguſt and magnificent, there arrived, upon different affairs, the ambaſſadors of Manuel emperor of Conſtantinople; of Frederick, the Roman emperor; of William, archbiſhop of Triers; of the duke of Saxony, and Philip earl of Flanders. Matthew Paris, who relates this, p. 133, ſays, he does it to ſhew the eſteem which the world had of king Henry, for his wiſdom and magnificence; from whom ſo many embaſſadors came to demand audiences, and to whoſe judgement even kings were ready to ſubmit.

Anno 1178. "Henricus, cum omnes provincias ſuæ poteſtatis, "quæ vel Francorum liminibus, vel montibus Pyreneis, vel "Britannico uſuantur Oceano, munitiones obtinuiſſet, et omnia "pro velle diſpoſuiſſet, &c." See this country in the map. The additions king Henry made by birth, Acquitain and Anjou: by conqueſt, Wales, Ireland, and the ſubjection of William king of Scotland.

1179. "Ludovicus rex Francorum, B. Thomam Martyrem, "orationis gratiâ, viſitare decernens, Angliam, quam nec ipſe "nec ſuorum aliquis anteceſſorum aliquo tempore viſitaverat, "devotus intravit." The king met him at Dover; "cui quidquid "honoris, &c. quantum auri vel argenti, quantum in vaſis pre-"tioſis, et lapidibus, &c. gazas totius regni ſui, et quicquid ipſe "et anteceſſores ſui in divitiis congeſſerant, regi Francorum et "ſuis expoſuit." King of France ſtayed but three days at Canterbury.

1180. "Nova moneta in Anglia facta."

See p. 141, agreement between Henry and king Philip. Quære, if king Philip's father were then alive? P. 140. "Anno "1181, cum rex Francorum Philippus, cum quibuſdam de "ſuis, ſibi ad memoriam reducentibus, cognoviſſet qualiter "rex Anglorum regnum ſuum tam tutè diffuſum, à tam bar-"baris nationibus, Scotis ſcilicet et Wallenſibus, tam pacificè "protegeret, de communi conſilio domeſticorum ſuorum, præ-"dicti regis diſpoſitioni omne regnum ſuum et ſeipſum com-"miſit." I do not well underſtand this: however, it ſhews a great deference and reſpect that Philip had for king Henry and

his counſels; ſo that he and his miniſters thought his moſt prudent way was to be guided by them. See the French Hiſtories for king Philip's age. See if Roger [w] archbiſhop of York died anno 1181. It ſeems, this archbiſhop had got a privilege from pope Alexander, "That, if any clerk, ſubject to his juriſdiction, "being on his death-bed, ſhould make his will, and not diſtribute "his goods with his own hands, the archbiſhop ſhould have power "of ſeizing upon what he left." Now it being but juſt that a man ſhould find the effects of that law which he would impoſe upon another, it ſo happened, that, upon the death of the archbiſhop, his goods were confiſcated; "quorum ſumma undecim "millia librarum argenti, et aurei trecenti, cappa aurea, argentea "ſeptem, cypti argentei novem, tria ſalſaria argentea, tres cuppæ "murrinæ, cochlearia quadraginta, octo ſantellæ argenteæ, "pelvis argenteus, et diſcus argenteus." This was a great ſum in thoſe times, to be hoarded up uſeleſsly in the ſingle treaſury of one Clergyman!

Ibid. "Eodem anno, moneta veteri in Anglia reprobatâ, nova "ſucceſſit in Feſto ſancti Martini."

Anno 1182. "Rex Henricus apud Waltham in præſentiâ "provincii regni ad ſubventionem terræ Sanctæ quadraginta duo "millia marcarum argenti et quingentas marcas auri liberaliter "aſſignavit." And ſo our treaſure went out of the Land. See Giraldus Cambrenſis, what ſort of people they gathered in Wales, rogues, &c. children from their parents, huſbands from their wives, &c.

Anno 1184, 1185. See at large Giraldus Cambrenſis, Hib. Expugnata, p. 800. King Henry's prudent refuſal of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, &c. "convocato clero regni et populato;" which could not but be for the good of this kingdom. Neither did they ſend any of the king's ſons; prince John's (to whom he had given the dominion of that country) being knighted at Windſor, and then ſent into Ireland; being much more for the preſent honour, as well as future advantage of England. M. Paris, p. 144, 145.

Anno 1186. "Reges Angliæ et Franciæ ſuſceperunt crucem." And the next year, 1187, "Ricardus Comes Pictavienſis cum

[w] He had been archdeacon of Canterbury; was raiſed to the ſee of York in 1154, and died in 1181. After his death, the archbiſhoprick was vacant ten years.

"audiſſet

" audiſſet calamitatem Terræ Sanctæ et de captâ cruce non ex-
" pectatâ, alicujus prædicatore vel patris ſui conſilio, aut vo-
" luntate, primus inter proceres tranſmarinos ſignaculum crucis
" ſuſcepit de manu Archiepiſcopi Turonenſis." See the good which king Henry did us by his laws, and the eſtabliſhing our parliaments. See the Book of the Writs for calling parliaments.

Anno 1188. Frederick emperor, king of England, king of France, Philip king of Flanders, and an innumerable number of all ſorts, from archbiſhops and dukes, down to the meaneſt people, took the croſs, and were eager to run in ſhoals to the Holy Land. Incredible what an infinite number of the people of Europe, and conſequently of Engliſh, who gloried in being more devoted to the Holy See than other nations, muſt have periſhed in thoſe expeditions!

Quære, How Whitehaven has flouriſhed of late times? how Liverpool? See the fates of Carteol, of Newcaſtle; the deſtruction made of thoſe parts by the Scotch wars.

M. Paris, p. 144. " Anno 1186, Mater eccleſia Ciceſtrenſis
" et tota civitas comburuntur." Earthquakes, prodigies, inundations, ſtrike terror into the ſpirits of common people, eſpecially when all ſuch things, though natural, are improved by the cunning of the prieſts, to turn them into miracles, as occaſions ſerved. So ſcarce a voyage at ſea, but the leaſt ſtorm occaſioned a miracle of ſome Saint, and the expence of a wax-candle, which increaſed in bigneſs according to the apprehenſion of the danger. (See Eraſmus's Dialogue.) And this muſt needs diſhearten our traffick and ſeamen, when under the apprehenſion of all ſuch dangers: for all firſt diſcoverers magnify things; " et omne ig-
" notum pro magnifico." We have now no Scylla and Charybdis on the coaſts of Sicily; and our ſhips paſs even through the tumultuous waves of the Bay of Biſcay. M. Paris, p. 146—151.

King Henry had even his latter-days made uneaſy, by wars between him and the king of France, who ſupported his ſon Richard, that had gained all Britany and many of the nobility to his party. The Pope, by his Legates, endeavoured a reconciliation, but in vain; and the propoſals made, in 1188, by the king of France to king Henry, do not ſeem unreaſonable; " Poſtulavit utique rex Francorum Aleſiam ſororem ſuam, quam
" rex Angliæ habuit ſub cuſtodiâ ſuâ, donari Ricardo in uxorem,
" et aliquam ſecuritatem ſibi fieri de Regno Angliæ poſt de-
" ceſſum

"ceſſum ſuum. Petiit inſuper ut Johannes filius ejus crucem "ſuſciperet, Hieroſolymam profecturus, nam Ricardus iter illud "nullatenus ſine ipſo arriperet." So that the younger brother ſeems to have given the elder ſome umbrage; and the king's council and friends were of opinion, that his ſon's requeſts were reaſonable: "Ut filio ſuo et hæredi legitimo militique tam "ſtrenuo aliquam ſecuritatem faceret gaudenter de hæreditate ſuâ "habendâ, ſi ipſi, Deo ordinante, ſupervixiſſet." But the king abſolutely refuſed any ſuch agreement, leſt he might ſeem to have been forced to it. Whereupon the prince and king Philip took ſeveral places; and, coming before Caen, and firing the ſuburbs, got into the city, and put the king in ſo much danger, that he was forced to fly thence, and was purſued for three miles, narrowly eſcaping through a deep ford, with very great difficulty, to Tours, whilſt the king and prince ravaged the country, and took many caſtles. After this, the earl of Flanders, the archbiſhop of Rheims, and Hugh duke of Burgundy, came to king Henry at Saumur, to endeavour a reconciliation. In the mean time, the city of Tours was taken by ſtorm; and the king of England, being driven to theſe ſtraits, was forced to come to ſuch conditions as were not ſo honourable as thoſe he had formerly refuſed. He was without contradiction to do what the king of France ſhould adjudge. He was to do homage to the king of France, becauſe in the beginning of this war he had renounced it. The lady Aleſia was to be put into the cuſtody of Richard; who might likewiſe receive homage from all his father's liege men. And the king of France was to have twenty thouſand marks of ſilver for the expences he had been at, in the aſſiſtance given to that prince. Theſe things affected king Henry ſo deeply, that he died three days after the concluding this agreement, having reigned 34 years, 7 months, and 5 days.

The king, by the length of his reign, the extent of his hereditary countries, the enlarging his dominions by conqueſt, his great reputation abroad amongſt all nations; the goodneſs of his laws, and his care of his people, has laid the ſolid foundations of the Engliſh grandeur.

"Ricardus Wintoniam veniens fecit ponderare et in ſcriptum "redigere omnes theſauros patris ſui, et inventa ſunt plura quam "nongenta millia librarum in auro et argento, præter utenſilia "et jocalia et lapides pretioſos." Q. How long Wincheſter

flouriſhed in the favour of our kings? Make a Book of Engliſh Hiſtorical Queſtions.

King Richard, the ſame year, 1188, had another acceſſion of wealth and treaſure: for, Geoffry[w] biſhop of Ely dying inteſtate, there came to the king three thouſand marks of ſilver, two thouſand of gold, with all his plate and jewels. But the king was very liberal, not to ſay profuſe, in his diſpoſal of lands and money to his friends and attendants; which afterwards, when he wanted it to equip him for the Holy War, made him uſe ſeveral unuſual means for raiſing it.

Our Pilgrims, &c. with 37 ſhips, going to the Holy Land, take Sylvia for the king of Portugal, p. 150.

King John is reputed to have had more houſes in our kingdom than any of our kings.

King Henry I. a great builder. "Cœnobia fecit de Radingis, "de Cirenceſtre, de Prælo ante Rothomagnon, et de Mortuo "Mari. Municipia verò præter turres et caſtella viginti quinque "opere ſumptuoſo conſtruxit," p. 73. Mighty additions to our wealth and ſtrength!

Anno 1153, "Caſtra adulterina, quo tempore Regis à quocun-"que exſtructa ſunt diruentur, quorum numerus ad 1115 excre-"vit," p. 86. Walſingham has the ſame number, Ypod. Neuſtriæ, p. 446. This muſt make great alterations throughout the whole country.

See in Dr. Watts's Gloſſary, what it is to excommunicate the Jews.

See Camden, how long Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Northumberland, under the Scots? Whether Dr. Nicolſon[x]

[w] Geoffry Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, who had been raiſed to the ſee of Ely in 1184. He was alſo a baron of the exchequer.

[x] Dr. William Nicolſon, born about 1655, was a native of Orton in Cumberland. He was entered of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1670; made prebendary of Carliſle in 1681, archdeacon in 1682, and biſhop in 1702. He was deeply engaged in the Bangorian controverſy in 1717; and was tranſlated to the ſee of Derry in Ireland the next year. He was raiſed to the archbiſhoprick of Caſhel, Jan. 28, 1726-7; but died (16 days only after his promotion) Feb. 13. His principal works, the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh Hiſtorical Libraries, were re-printed in 1775, in one volume, 4to.

biſhop

biſhop of Carliſle has publiſhed any thing of thoſe countries [y]? Whether a Parſon has not written a Book about Weſtmoreland [z]?

The frequent incurſions on both ſides muſt render that country on the Marches very ruinous, being ſo often laid waſte by numerous armies; and ſo as to the Marches of Wales. Quære, concerning Berwick, how it ſtands as for our trade between both nations? how the Laws of Scotland; what prohibited from England and other countries? Quære, how long Huntington in the poſſeſſion of the Scots? A. It continued no longer than John Baliol. See Camden's Britannia.

When king Stephen came to the crown, 1135, (the biſhops of Canterbury and Wincheſter preſent) he ſeized upon all his unkle's treaſure; "ſcilicet, centum libras, exceptis vaſis aureis "et argenteis et gemmis."

See Molloy, "De Jure Maritimo, &c." of the Jews. Whether any Jews in Scotland? How long in Ireland? What of them have we in the Weſt Indian plantations [a]? They are great ſpies, and betray us in time of war. See Walſingham's Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 474. Jews hanged for clipping. Expelled the kingdom in Edward the Firſt's time, p. 176. Vide Walſingham's Hiſtory of Edw. I, p. 53, a ſtory of a Jew. "Anno 1289, "Rex crucis ſuſcepit characterem, moxque Judæos omnes tan-"quam crucis hoſtes expulit de Waſconen et aliis terris ſuis "omnibus quam in Franciâ poſſedebat," p. 54. In 1290, expelled England. See how the Jews were admitted in Oliver's time. See an act of Parliament to provide for Proteſtant children [b].

M. Paris, p. 887. The Jews complain, and that juſtly, of the king. "Habet Papales immo ſuos Mercatores, &c." See how our prelates were forced to take up money at the court of Rome, to bribe them; particularly how the Popes did it at the breaking up of Councils. How men were ready planted, to lend it at exceſſive uſury.

[y] The judicious Antiquary will find his reſearches in this ſpecies of learning amply gratified in Mr. Gough's curious "Anecdotes of Britiſh "Topography."

[z] "An Eſſay towards a Natural Hiſtory of Weſtmoreland and Cumber-"land, &c. By Thomas Robinſon, Rector of Ouſby in Cumberland," was publiſhed in 1709, 8vo.

[a] There are great numbers of them eſtabliſhed in Jamaica.

[b] Stat. 1 Anne, c. 30.

Seals not much in uſe amongſt our anceſtors the Saxons; but they ſigned with the Croſs. There was a Seal of king Edward's at Weſtminſter. See p. 79, 80, of M. Paris's Lives. I remember, in theſe Lives, mention made of one Aaron, a Jew, who had lent money to St. Alban's, p. 93, circ. ann. 1188.

In 1209, in king John's time, "Ad feſtum Sancti Michaelis "amotum eſt ſcaccarium à Weſtmonaſterio uſque Northamton, "per regem, in odium Londinenſium." M. Paris tells us, upon the ſame year, that it continued there "uſque ad Natale Domini." Read Milton's Hiſtory of our Kings before the Conqueſt. See the character of King Henry II, and his offspring, in the Topographia Cambrenſis, p. 751. Cambrenſis Hib. Expugnata, p. 776. Anno 1172, "Primo annoque, Rex Henricus Hiber-"niæ Triumphator ipſam inſulam acquiſivit."

Sir Thomas More [c] was a great wit, had abundance of life and ſmartneſs. Nothing can give a better ſenſe of the conſideration man ought to have of his latter-end, than theſe two verſes:

"Fleres ſi ſcires unum tua tempora menſem;
"Rides quum non ſit forſitan una dies [d]."

His Utopia may come in as a piece of Poetry. So the Hiſtory of the Sevarites, or Sevarambi, &c.

Chriſtian, biſhop of Liſmore, Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, Donat. of Caſſels, Laurence of Dublin, and Catholicus of Tuam (the archbiſhop of Tuam not there, by reaſon of his great

[c] Born in 1480; appointed treaſurer of the exchequer in 1520; ſpeaker of the houſe of commons in 1523; and had the great ſeals delivered to him Oct. 15, 1530; being the firſt layman that ever held that office; the duties of which he executed for near three years with a moſt exemplary diligence, a true magnanimity, and a moſt incorrupted integrity; and reſigned, May 16, 1533. His inflexibility in denying the king's ſupremacy drew on him the wrath of Henry VIII; he was committed to The Tower in 1534; and beheaded July 5, 1535. He was the author of many and various works; though only his Utopia is now read, the other being chiefly of the polemic kind, and in a defence of a cauſe which could not be ſupported. His Engliſh works were collected and publiſhed, by order of queen Mary, in 1557; his Latin, at Baſil, in 1563, and at Lorrain in 1566.

[d] "You'd weep, if ſure you'd but one month to ſtay;
"Yet laugh, uncertain of a ſingle day!"

age

age and infirmity) held a general council at Caſſels, the king having perſons commiſſioned by him then preſent, where were ſeveral canons made; eſpecially "De Matrimoniis contrahendis, "de Decimis dandis, &c. Eccleſiæ illius ad Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ "formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando." The 6th Conſtitution is, "Quod univerſi fideles, in infirmitate poſiti, confeſſore "ſuo et vicinis aſtantibus, &c." might diſpoſe of their effects. This was a very good law. Nothing encourages trade more than a liberty of diſpoſing by will; that ſo what a man has got by his labour and induſtry may come to his children. The Act of inteſtates' eſtates has made a very good diſpoſition for all perſons.

The king's ſons riſe againſt him whilſt he is there. The great inconveniences which happened upon his not being able to ſettle that kingdom. See more, p. 782; and in the ſame page, and the next, we have a very large character of king Henry, and a deſcription of his perſon.

P. 787. The king gets a privilege for Ireland from Pope Adrian, an Engliſhman. See the Life of Pope Adrian. The kings of Ireland had all ſubmitted, and ſworn to king Henry before this confirmation of the Pope, "Qui inſulas omnes ſibi ſpeciali quo-"dam jure vindicat."

M. Paris (p. 71.) tells us of an odd method the king made uſe of to get money. "Rex Anglorum Henricus tenuit mag-"num concilium apud Londonias, in kalendis Auguſti, de ſa-"cerdotum focariis prohibendis. Aſſuerunt concilio illi Wil-"lielmus Cantuarienſis et Turſtanus Eboracenſis archiepiſcopi, "cum ſuis ſuffraganeis, quos omnes ſimplicitate Cantuarienſis "archiepiſcopi Rex Henricus decepit; conceſſerunt namque regi "juſtitiam de focariis Sacerdotum, quæ res poſtea cum ſummo "dedicare terminabatur percepit enim Rex pecuniam infinitam de "Preſbyteris pro focariis ſuis redimendis."

In M. Miſſon's New Voyage to Italy, vol. I. printed 1699, at Nuremburg, he ſays, p. 68, he ſaw a Treatiſe of Predeſtination, printed at Spire, 1446[c]; and another by Fauſtus, at Mentz, 1459.

[c] This date was certainly a miſtake, as the art of printing was then quite in its infancy even at Mentz, where no book appears to have been printed earlier than 1442; and the firſt eſſays at Spire were thoſe of Peter Drach in 1477. See "The Origin of Printing," p. 75.

P. 74. The common opinion is, that Berthold Schwartz, a Franciſcan, found out guns and powder at Nuremburg, anno 1378.

I may venture to affirm, that neither ſieges nor battles have been ſo bloody ſince the invention of fire-arms, as before. Great guns were firſt put into ſhips, by the Venetian admiral Barbarigo; and the famous Bartholomew Coglione firſt brought artillery into the field: for, before his time, the only uſe of theſe machines was to batter the walls of towns. Monſ. de Fabert, who has lately publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Dukes of Burgundy, aſſures us, that the firſt eſſay which was made of them was againſt the fort of Preux.

P. 83. The trade of Augſburg decayed as that of Holland increaſed: almoſt all merchandizes which came from the Mediterranean were formerly landed at Venice, and from thence brought to Augſburg; from which place they were diſperſed through all Germany. But Holland has taken away all, and diſtributes all; and Augſburg ſuffers, as well as Venice, Milan, Antwerp, and an infinite number of other Cities, which are at preſent as poor as formerly they were rich.

P. 100. Among the rarities in the Elector of Bavaria's palace at Munich, are two Eccleſiaſtical books; one written by the Emperor Maximilian; the other covered with an embroidery of pearls and precious ſtones, wrought by Mary queen of England.

P. 101. Among the treaſures, two large purſes, full of Bavarian pearls, of the bigneſs of ſmall nuts, and very white. Theſe pearls are fiſhed-for, in the river Ill; one half that are found belong to the emperor, the other to the elector of Bavaria. What fiſhing for pearls we may have on the coaſts of Ireland and Scotland?

Vitruvius, who lived in the time of Auguſtus, ſpeaks of Moſaic work, under the terms of "Opus ſectile, pavimenta ſectilia, "opera muſæa et muſiva." It was alſo called "opus teſſelatum, "et vermiculatum." For want of natural ſtones, they uſe paſtes and compoſitions of glaſs, and enamels made in a crucible, which take a moſt lovely, ſhining colour, and never ſtain. King Edward the Confeſſor's tomb, and the pavement of the altar, in Weſtminſter-abbey, are Moſaic work, &c.

To

To make a Dictionary of Trade and Merchandize, and all their Implements. Dr. Scattergood took great pains to furniſh his Latin Dictionary with them.

Alexander the Third was a haughty man; he had at laſt the pleaſure to triumph over the Emperor and four Anti-popes. When he fled into France, two Kings, Lewis and Henry II, alighted from their horſes, to take his bridle, and lead his horſe.

P. 251. Ancona, though in the Eccleſiaſtical State, yet traders of all religions may live there, provided they make no public exerciſe of any beſides that of the country. They whiten wax very well at Ancona.

P. 269. Between Macerata and Tolentino, they plant great reeds to prop up the vines, and make uſe of buffaloes to draw their ploughs. Theſe animals are far ſtronger than oxen, and eat leſs. Why have we not them in England and Ireland, and Dromedaries and Camels? The Indian Corn I have ſeen in England grow with vaſt reeds, which would be of great uſe. Whether Rice would not grow upon boggy ground? To try to ſow all ſorts of things upon Bogs.

P. 274. Beyond Spoletto, the mountains are covered with Laurel, Wild Olives, Tamarinds, Evergreen Oaks, &c.

Of our fine Pictures in England, there are the Cartons of Raphael; my couſin Harcourt's fine pieces of Paulo Veroneſe; the duke of Somerſet's fine Pictures, Statues, &c. The loſs of Holbein's Picture[f] at Whitehall. We take up with Collections of Prints. Holbein[g] a great deal of. King Henry VIII. at Chriſt-Church. Van Dyck[h], and many at Cornbury.

In the Villa Juſtiniani, juſt without Rome, is to be ſeen this Epitaph: "Hic ſita eſt Amymone Marci optima et pulcherrima

[f] The admirable portraits of Henry VII and Henry VIII, on the wall of the palace at Whitehall; which periſhed when that building was burnt. Vertue engraved a fine plate from a copy of them.

[g] This excellent painter was born at Baſil in 1498; and died of the plague at London in 1554. His own portrait is in the delivery of the charter of Bridewell.

[h] Sir Anthony Van Dyck, the illuſtrious diſciple of Rubens, was born at Antwerp in 1599, and died at London in 1641. It is recorded of this artiſt, that he frankly confeſſed, he painted in the former part of his life for fame, and in the latter for his kitchen. Yet no artiſt, of any age, except Titian, ſtands in competition with him.

"Lanifica, pia, pudica, fungi caſta Domiſeda." It were happy for our tradeſmen if they could place this upon their wives at their deaths.

P. 388. Andrew Delphoſſo, a Jeſuit, wrote an excellent Treatiſe of Painting and Architecture, and knew very well how to practiſe both. Who wrote our firſt Book of Rules of Architecture or Painting in England? William of Wykeham[i].

P. 240. Adria, that ancient and famous city which gave its name to the Gulf, is now but a pitiful half-drowned village.

Quære, the firſt Book printed in England? I believe in wooden characters[k]. Quære, when firſt in Greek and Hebrew? Day in the firſt Saxon. The Polyglott, a great work. The Oxford preſs moſt variety. Sir Harry Savile's Chryſoſtom[l], a great work. Quære, if not the greateſt, conſidering the largeneſs of the book, and fineneſs of character?

He that will conſider the advancement of our Poetry in England, let him ſee the verſes from Weſtminſter, upon the mournful ſubject of the loſs of the duke of Glouceſter. There are ſome, from perſons not much above his own age, which may vie with moſt of the Moderns, and have a great reliſh of the Antients.

Miſſon, p. 23. The Eaſt India Company of Amſterdam is ſo powerful, that it has made head againſt princes, without interrupting its traffick[m]; and yet it was eſtabliſhed but in the year 1594.

[i] This munificent founder of Wincheſter College was born in 1324; was nominated to the ſee of Wincheſter in 1366; appointed lord chancellor in 1367; and died Sept. 27, 1404. His life, elegantly written by Bp. Lowth, was publiſhed in 1759, 8vo.

[k] This conjecture was well founded. The firſt production of the Oxford preſs, by Corſellis, appears to have been from wooden types. See Origin of Printing, p. 11.

[l] Printed in Greek, in 8 volumes folio, 1613, at the expence of 8000 pounds. The learned editor was born Nov. 30, 1549; and was Greek tutor to queen Elizabeth. He was made warden of Merton college in 1585; provoſt of Eaton in 1596; was knighted in 1604; founded the two Savilian lectureſhips at Oxford in 1619; and died Feb. 19, 1621-2.

[m] What would our Author have ſaid to the ſtill more aſtoniſhing progreſs of European merchants in the preſent century?

P. 284. Cork trees in Italy; they reſemble the Evergreen Oak, and bear acorns. When you ſtrip other trees of their bark, they die; but this grows ſtronger, and produces a new coat. I have ſeen a Cork tree grow at Cornbury. Why may we not have them in England and Ireland? See the nature of the ſoil they are to grow in. Does not our Cork uſe to come from France?

P. 113. At Amras, a houſe of pleaſure, near Inſpruck, a croſs-bow has 34 bows, and diſcharges 34 arrows.—An engine in the Tower of London, with a vaſt number of muſket-bores.

P. 122. He tells us of veſſels made of Ambergris, and that it is a ſubſtance fit to be wrought.

Henry, ſon to Henry II, crowned king of England. His death, Girald. Comb. Hib. Expugnata, p. 799. He ſays, his brother Geoffry, "totius mali incentor." He has before, in the Topographia, the character of a cunning, ſubtle perſon; "Ulyſſes in "patrem tertio recedens." John, a favourite both of father and mother, never diſobliged them. Ibid. Dominion of Ireland to John. See p. 805. His family of Normans, &c. p. 810, relating to Ireland. The love of the king and queen to John, who never diſobliged them, gave umbrage to all the brothers; and Richard, fighting for the aſſurance of the crown, durſt not go to the Holy Land without him. The king a ſevere father when they grew up, but exceſſively tender before. Thomas Becket ſent to fetch him and Margaret his wife from Paris. Walſ. Ypod. Neuſt. p. 446. Margaret was daughter to Lewis the young. She married this young king Henry, ſurnamed by the French *Court-mantel*; and afterwards was widow to Bela III, king of Hungary; croſſed herſelf, and went to the Holy War. See Maimbourg.

Pope Adrian, an Engliſhman. See his Letters to king Henry about Ireland, and the matter that the king wrote to the Pope, after the Council of Caſſels. That the Pope ſent the king a ring for Inveſtiture, which was laid up in the treaſury at Wincheſter. See M. Paris, Hiſt. p. 95. His Lives of the Abbots, p. 66. See in our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories what good he did for his country. See the Popes Lives by their Medals. See p. 788, of Cambrenſis, what this Letter of the Pope's was after the kings of Ireland had ſworn to king Henry. Quære, what have we of Pope Adrian's in the Decretals; or in all the Hiſtories of the Popes?

M. Paris,

M. Paris, p. 74. Anno 1135. The biſhops of Wincheſter and Saliſbury were by, when king Stephen took his Unkle's treaſure, which was 100 pounds (printed "centum 4," which occaſioned great miſtakes) beſides jewels and plate: but in the various readings, "centum millia libras," which ſounds neareſt truth.

Anno 1140. William biſhop of Wincheſter ſtands for king Stephen, and has his caſtle beſieged by Maud, and repulſes her, p. 78.

Anno 1142. Willielmus Wintonienſis epiſcopus, et Apoſtolicæ Sedis legatus, holds a council at London. "Eodem anno obiit "Willielmus Wintonienſis præſul, et Henricus ſucceſſit; huic "vero Henrico Lucius Papa pallium miſit, volens apud Winto-"niam novum archiepiſcopum conſtituere, et ſeptem ei epiſcopos "aſſignare." This muſt be falſe; I ſhall put it as Henry, for it can be no other. This muſt be determined by conſulting the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories. See Dugdale, of Glaſtonbury. Quære, as to the archbiſhoprick, what were the ſeven biſhopricks to be? Matthew Paris himſelf clears up this matter.

P. 74. Was by when Stephen took Henry's treaſure. And the next year, viz. anno 1136, p. 76. when king Henry's body being brought from Caen (Cadomum), and was buried at Reading, in an abbey of his own foundation, with great ſolemnity and magnificence, where the king and many of the nobility were preſent. And then Henry biſhop of Wincheſter took away the hand of St. James from the abbey of Reading, which king Henry had ſent thither in the year 1133; and they were deprived of ſo conſiderable a relick till the time of king Henry II. This ſeems to have been an oppreſſion, and done by means of that power he had with his brother. What is ſaid before, p. 78, of his holding-out caſtles againſt Maud, and p. 79, of his holding a council, muſt be either meant of ſome others, or elſe the name miſtaken. He ſeems to have ſtood for the rights of the Church, even againſt his Brother, p. 77. See Spelman's Councils. Goodwin's Annals, of this Henry. See what books concerning the Abbey of Clugny and its famous men.

About making Henry an archbiſhop, ſee Malmſbury's treatiſe of biſhops.

Anno 1222. The Jews had their misfortunes in the ſucceeding reign, which was that of king Henry the Third: for he deſigning to recover his dominions in France, which had been loſt

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in the time of his father, laid, in the year 1230, ſevere burdens upon the Eccleſiaſticks, and upon the city of London; ſo that the Jews, having ſome companions in their afflictions, might more eaſily bear the payment of the third part of all their ſubſtance, towards ſo neceſſary an expedition.

M. Paris, p. 314, 315. In a council held by archbiſhop Stephen at Canterbury, anno 1222, ſays, "Quidam Apoſtata "Judæus, factus ex Chriſtiano Diaconus, judicialiter eſt punitus, "quem Falco ſtatim arreptum ſuſpendi fecit." See Lindwood of this Council. Fox's Martyrs. Fuller's Church Hiſtory. This paſſage ſeemed to me at firſt to be unintelligible, till, looking into Dr. Watts's Adverſaria, p. 316, l. 26, where he ſpeaks of the council at Oxon, held by Stephen Langton, in 1222.

M. Paris, p. 393, gives an inſtance of a charitable work for the converſion of the Jews; which cannot be rightly underſtood without conſulting Dugdale's Monaſticon and Stowe's Survey of London. See Tanner's Notit. Monaſt. See if there were no other religious houſes founded on ſuch occaſions; and what were their Statutes, either here, or in other nations.

But the Jews may ſeem neither to have deſerved this or any other favour from the Engliſh, if we conſider the barbarity they were about to practiſe ſome few years afterwards. P. 409, king Henry keeping his Chriſtmas at Weſtminſter, in the year 1235, and the 19th of his reign, there were brought thither to him ſeven Jews, who had ſtolen a boy at Norwich, circumciſed him, and kept him privately for a whole year, with an intent to have crucified him at their Paſſover. They were convicted of the fact, and, confeſſing it in the king's preſence, were remanded to priſon, there to expect the king's pleaſure as to their puniſhment.

Such a fact as the forementioned could not but incenſe the people againſt the Jews, p. 431; and they had the more reaſon to be afraid, becauſe, in the year following, there was a great deſtruction made of them in foreign parts, and particularly in Spain: ſo that, upon giving a great ſum of money to the king, they purchaſed their preſervation; and it was proclaimed publicly, that no one ſhould offer them any violence ot injury.

But they did not long enjoy this quiet; for about three years afterwards, Geoffry Templar, one of the king's council, impriſoned and tormented them; and laid ſuch heavy exactions upon them, that they expected an utter extirpation. At laſt, after many

difficulties, they gave the third part of their ready money, debts, and chattels, that they might gain ſome reſpite from their miſeries and preſent ruin. The occaſion of this was was a murder which they had privately committed, p. 489.

In the year following, the Jews gave a freſh inſtance of their villany: for at Norwich they had got another boy, and, circumciſing him, they named him Jurinus, and kept him to be ſacrificed, in contempt of Chriſt crucified. But the father of the child, making diligent ſearch after him, at laſt diſcovered that he was hid in a Jew's chamber. When this came to the ears of William Poole, biſhop of the dioceſe, who was a very prudent circumſpect perſon, he, with other perſons of quality of the country, not ſuffering ſo great an indignity to the Chriſtian Religion to go unpuniſhed, ſeized upon all the Jews that were in the city; and when they would have ſheltered themſelves under the king's authority, the biſhop told them, "That theſe things appertained "to the Church, and were not to be adjudged in the King's "court, when the matter in queſtion was concerning Circum-"ciſion, and the violation of the Chriſtian faith." So four of the Jews, being convicted of the forementioned crime, were drawn to their execution at horſes' tails, and afterwards hanged upon a gibbet.

About this time, and for ſome years before, the Tartars made a very great and violent irruption, not only into the Eaſt, but likewiſe into Hungary and the upper parts of Germany, and ſtruck terror into the whole Weſtern empire. It was ſaid, that they were Jews, who had for many years been ſhut up in the Caſpian mountains; and for this reaſon, the Jews of theſe Weſtern parts were thought to favour them. It is ſaid, that the Jews pretended to the Chriſtian princes, that the Tartars had ſignified to them, that they had their original from the ſame nation; and that they would have no wine but that which came from their own brethren: ſo the Jews ſaid, they had now an opportunity of ridding the world of ſo great a plague and terror as theſe Tartars were to them.

Pope Alexander the Sixth was ſo liberal as to divide the whole undiſcovered world between the kings of Spain and Portugal. Time may ſee another emperor in Rome.

In Peru, never any of the Ynca's ſubjects were guilty of treaſon. All that was got in their wars were divided into three parts;

parts: the firſt, to the ſervice of their gods; the ſecond, to the king, court, and nobles; and the third, to the relief of the common people.

When there were no wars among thoſe Indians, the people were buſied with works of magnificence, ſuch as palaces for their viceroys, and large ways through all the country, which exceeded thoſe of Rome or Egypt.

The Goths ſeem to have come down like a deluge; not but they had principles of honour and government, and have laid a foundation for glory. The Spaniards have their blood in their veins; than whom there cannot be a braver nation, when led or encouraged by a gallant prince: for, not to mention their conqueſts in the Weſt Indies, I remember to have read in an old Author, that, when Charles the Fifth was emperor, the Tranſylvanians, in ſome difficulty, demanded but a few natural Spaniards (I am ſure the number did not amount to fifty) to be their conductors: ſo much was their reputation in that age.

Add to this, their paſſing through Sclavonia, Thrace, and Greece (then the Roman dominions), and Rome itſelf, under Alaric the Second, who left his conqueſts to his ſon Alfonſus, from whoſe ſtock the kings of Spain deſcended.

Theodoric was a prince of extraordinary learning and valour; inſomuch that Italy, which before was made a thorough-fare to the barbarous nations, and quite diſordered by the frequent inundations of luſt and rapine, he reduced to ſuch a peaceable and ſettled government, that before his death they had quite loſt the memory of their former miſeries; inſtead whereof, a general felicity had diffuſed itſelf over all the country. Such cities as had been before defaced, he repaired, ſtrengthened, and beautified. In his wars, he was victorious; temperate in time of peace; and, in his private carriage, diſcreet and affable.

A PARALLEL between HOMER and VIRGIL.

Thus much I ſay, that ſometimes I can read Homer with greater pleaſure than Virgil; and ſometimes I read Virgil with more delight than I can Homer; that is, they pleaſe me according to the different temper of mind I am in when I take them up. I can read Virgil with more pleaſure, becauſe I underſtand his language beſt; I read Homer with more inſtruction, becauſe he is

is more full of morality; and before we decide between them in this, we muſt know which is the chiefeſt end of Poetry, Profit or Pleaſure.—I would not be thought by this to deprive Virgil of Morality; for that is couched under his Fable, and is interſperſed up and down his whole Book: nor Homer of Pleaſure; for who is not charmed with his lofty flights, which come ſo near to the ſpirit of the inſpired Prophets? It is certain that he has ſo many of them infuſed in his works, that one would almoſt imagine he had read and tranſcribed them. And who is not delighted with the majeſty of his ſtyle, and the flowing numbers of his verſe? It is certain he ſurpaſſes Virgil in theſe, as much as the Greek language exceeds the Latin. I ſee the copiouſneſs of the Greek, and the ſeverity of the Latin: *this* can compound two words with great elegance; and *that* has dialects (a great advantage), which cauſe a rumbling ſound, give a greater licenſe, poliſh the verſe more, and is more expreſſive of the ſenſe.—No, I do not do this; this were to abridge them both of one of the eſſential properties of Poetry, and to contradict a forementioned poſition. In ſhort, I like them both, I praiſe them both; I dare not ſay which I like better, they are both beſt, and both deſerve the palm; and whoſoever takes it from the head of Virgil, to fix it on Homer's, does both an injury, which both, if alive, would diſclaim; by aſcribing to Homer more than he really deſerves, and by taking from Virgil even what he doth deſerve, that is, his ſhare. And ſo I conclude, by pronouncing them both the great Monarchs of Learning, deſiring every one to let them reign jointly over his ſtudies, to read them both at once, and let *one* ſerve as a comment to the *other*.

Thoſe Gentlemen who only equal the Æneid to the Iliad do unawares make Virgil inferior to Homer; for, if Homer wrote firſt, and in a barbarous age, and yet is equal to Virgil, who had the Wits of Auguſtus's Court to converſe with and conſult, to read and correct his writings; if Homer has written as well, without any advantage, as Virgil has, who had Ariſtotle, Longinus, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, and Horace, and all the antient Commentators and Critics to conſult, who had even Homer's beauties to imitate and Homer's faults to ſhun, and had all the advantages that he could deſire, with riches, and a retired eaſy life; if, I ſay, Homer has performed all this; we muſt of neceſſity conclude, that Homer had a greater genius and a deeper judgement,

judgement, and conſequently was a greater man; and that whoever is in love with Virgil muſt be raviſhed with Homer, the King of Poets.

Homer and Virgil ſometimes ſeem to flag, to ſome who cannot comprehend them; but, like the ſun when eclipſed, they loſe nothing of their light; it is only the clouds of our ignorance that interpoſe, and hinder our ſight.

Manners are what diſtinguiſh the quality, and characterize the inclinations, of thoſe who act: now Homer has ſucceeded very well in the *manners* which he has aſcribed to his men, but failed in thoſe he gave to the gods. What can the reaſon be, but that he ſtudied the nature of the gods with leſs attention than he did that of man? that he knew the men better than his gods, becauſe he was more converſant with earthly things than with celeſtial? Nor is Ariſtotle's juſtification of him ſufficient. He ſays, Homer, in his characters of the gods, followed the ſayings of former Poets; and the current reports for this make him countenance what he muſt know to be abſurd, from the light of nature. Mr. Dacier's is better, but that is far from excuſing him. That of Longinus is indeed a witty one; but not to be valued, becauſe it is a weak one. Beſides, wit, like truth, is not to be ſpoken at all times: for who can chuſe but pity to ſee a dying hero miſerably witty? He that is witty inſtead of being judicious in diſputations, is at beſt but a witty fool. Good Latin is not much expected then; ſo neither is wit: it is enough if there be good ſenſe, and words proper for the thoughts.

As the characters of his Gods are all blameable, ſo is the character of Therſites. I mean not that he has not drawn his picture true, and hit upon the true features; but that it is wrongly brought in. Gods! who can bear a Buffoon in company with Neſtor? We expect the honey dropping from the mouth of this reverend old man, and are plagued with farce and jeſt. Who can bear a Merry Andrew among deliberating Stateſmen? a Therſites in an Epopœia? Monſtrous inconſiſtency! He that can bear this, may bear the ridiculous abſurdity of a Tragi-comedy. But that is not all, a God muſt be a laughing-ſtock too; there muſt be a Vulcan among his deities; as if the Gods were to be made a jeſt on. It is true, we may laugh at them; but Homer could not without a crime, becauſe he thought his religion as pure and unſpotted as we do ours. And therefore it is as great

a crime

a crime in him to laugh at his Gods, as it would be in us to laugh at ours.

Beſides, Homer has offended againſt other arts, as Phyſick, which Virgil has not done. But Virgil, in the Tenth Æneid, brings in Mezentius comparing himſelf with an horſe in theſe words, "Phœbe, diu ſi qua, &c." This is a fine reflection, without doubt; but I know not wherefore he attributed this to an horſe. This is one caſt away, and ſquandered. But he followed Homer in this, lib. viii. 185. where Hector encourages his Horſes, Xanthus, &c.

Virgil's work is like the organ which Trapp ſpeaks of. Virgil had a truer idea of the gods than Homer.

Many great men ſtand up, and vouch for their reputations; but not one, as I know of, condemn either of them, except Zoilus.

Homer's grand moral is of more frequent application and uſe. Every age almoſt is big with the deſtruction of ſtates, whoſe prime miniſters have diſagreed; but when do we ſee a time wherein Virgil's can be of uſe? I will not deny but ſuch a time may poſſibly happen; but ſurely Homer's has, is, and ever will be. Again, Virgil has been of no uſe but to his own nation: for when do we ſee a Commonwealth changed into a Monarchy? and Virgil's can be of no uſe till this is done. Such a change may be. But Homer's muſt, if pride or ambition, if raſhneſs or a luſt of ſuperiority, inhabit the firſt officers of kingdoms; and which crimes, I think, will never depart from them. I have ſaid, Virgil's moral is of no advantage but to his own country, which cannot be ſaid of Homer's; for that affects every kingdom of the world, whether conſidered by itſelf, or in conjunction with its allies. It affects likewiſe every great family, whoſe branches are to purſue the ſame intereſts. Kingdoms allied are adviſed by this to maintain a fair correſpondence with one another; a ſeparate one, to live in unity with itſelf. And all the branches of a numerous family are taught to agree together, leſt any deſigning enemy foment their diviſions, and ſo overthrow their houſe.

As Homer is more extenſive, ſo is he more durable. I mean, not as to the Poem, for both will live till all things die; but in his chief Moral, which is the only thing I am talking of, and intend at preſent. I ſaid, Virgil's is of no uſe but to his own land;

land; nor is it to that at this juncture; but Homer's does: for the ſtate of government for which Virgil calculated his Moral is annihilated, or, which is all one, moulded into a different form. And this ſhews, I think, the inſufficiency of Virgil's, and the great perfection of the other's, Moral: for Homer's does good even now to his own country, although it has undergone as many variations in its government as ever Rome did; and even to Rome itſelf. And the reaſon is, Virgil's relates only to a ſtate changed from a Republick to a Monarchy; and Homer's to all: whether they be Ariſtocracies, or Democracies, or Monarchies; and whether the Monarchies be Elective or Hereditary; it is all the ſame, though every ſtate receives a new face every century.

But here it is urged, againſt the extenſiveneſs of Homer's Moral, that his language is known not to many, which Virgil's is; and conſequently cannot be of inſtruction to ſo great a number of people as Virgil's. But this avails not: it is true, this is good fortune for Virgil; it does him good, but it does Homer no harm. I dare confidently affirm, that, though Homer's language is not known to ſo many people, yet it is to as many nations, cities, or countries, as Virgil's is: that though it is not known to innumerable multitudes, yet it is known to a ſufficient number; and herein Homer is like the Bible in Popiſh countries, which is with-held from the Vulgar, and only vouchſafed to a ſmall number of learned men. I would not here be thought to approve of Homer's or the Bible's being with-held: no; I only wiſh there were more learned, that they might be ſpread into more hands: for, as matter may be divided for millions of years, and yet remain ſufficient to divide on to all eternity; ſo theſe may be ſcattered among innumerable numbers, and the farther they are diffuſed, ſtill the finer they will prove.

From what has been ſaid, you will find Virgil's a *temporary* Moral, Homer's *eternal*; Virgil's has been, Homer's is ſtill, a good one; Virgil's may be ſo again, Homer's cannot be otherwiſe; Virgil's Moral is ſuperlative, Homer's is one in practice; Virgil's amuſes, Homer's delights and profits.

As much as pious Chriſtians adore the Holy Scriptures, ſo much do learned men admire Homer and Virgil. The Old and New Teſtaments contain in them all that can make one good; the Iliad and the Æneid, all that can make a man learned and

polite. And therefore, in reſpect of men, it is full as dangerous to attempt any thing againſt theſe two Poets, as againſt the Oracles of God. Ye know the fates of Hobbes[n] and Zoilus; one is ſtigmatized for an Atheiſt, the other for a Blockhead. Nay, I believe, it would not be more dangerous (for now it paſſes for wit) to burleſque the Bible; but it is confounded ſtupidity to carp at *theſe*.

But methinks I hear one ſay, why then do I carp at Homer to-day? muſt not I expect to loſe my reputation? No; I hope not: neceſſity obliges me to it; I am commanded, and I muſt obey. And here I promiſe, that whatever is ſaid againſt him in this Treatiſe ſhall, after I have done (for I come not to do a wilful murder on his fame), be wholly diſannulled; and I will own, that it is not Homer dreams, but I that nod.

Thus the opponent in our ſchools, when pricked to diſpute, argues as ſtiffly againſt the tenets of the Goſpel, as his reſpondent does for them; is as ſolicitous to find out flaws and contradictions, and then to urge and prove them, as his antagoniſt is to anſwer and confound him; and yet is never eſteemed a worſe Chriſtian: for he believes nothing he aſſerts, and is ready at any time to take the contrary part, and to contradict and confute whatever he ſaid before.

In examining theſe two great Poets then, I ſhall begin with the Fables of each firſt, becauſe the Fable produces the Manners. 2dly, With the Manners, which produce the Sentiments. 3dly, With the Sentiments, becauſe they produce the Language. 4thly, With the Language, which obtains the laſt place, becauſe a Poem may be perfect without the help of it. I ſhall ſhew how the one gets or loſes of the other, under all the heads, and ſo conclude. But, to manage this rightly, I think it neceſſary to ſeparate their parts, and to define them all.

Firſt, then, for the Fable; which Ariſtotle defines, by calling it "the conſtitution of things." This contains the plot, and the unraveling; the plot comprehends all the obſtacles which traverſe the deſigns of the principal perſon or perſons. The unraveling is all that is from the change to the end. And, as truth muſt be the foundation of the Fable, and fiction make the accompliſhment, I ſhall conſider their Fables as they contain a

[n] See vol. II. p. 142.

mixture

mixture of truth and fiction. I ſhall examine, likewiſe, as they contain the Admirable and Probable. The Admirable is all that is againſt the ordinary courſe of nature; the Probable is whatever ſuits with common opinion. I ſhall ſhew whether they be ſimple or compound, intricate or moral, or paſſionate and pathetic. I ſhall conſider their unities of action and time; for an Epic Poem has no unity of place, it not being Active, as Tragedy, but Narrative; that is, delivered by the Poet, not by the mouth of Actors: though there are ſometimes Narrations in Tragedies too, and Active Speeches in the Epopœia; but theſe are ſeldom. And, after all, I intend to obſerve the Epiſodes and Machines.

In a Poem (as has been intimated) the ſubject and deſign ought to obtain the firſt place.

The Deſign conſiſts of two parts; of truth and fiction intermixed. Truth is the foundation, and fiction makes the accompliſhment.

The Deſign, or Fable, is ſimple or compound: the ſimple has no change of fortune; the compound has, either from good to bad, or from bad to good. And this is preferable to the ſimple, becauſe it has more variety in it.

Fable is eſſential to Poetry; and, beſides the two parts already mentioned, that compoſe it, it muſt yet have two qualities, to be perfect: it muſt be Admirable, and it muſt be Probable. The Admirable is (as has been ſaid) all that which is againſt the ordinary courſe of nature; the Probable is, whatever ſuit with common opinion.

The Manners in a Poem have the ſecond place, viz. the next to the Plot, and are the cauſes of the Action.

Thoughts and Sentiments obtain the third place. Theſe are properly the expreſſions of the Manners, as words are the expreſſions of the Thoughts; and their office, ſays Ariſtotle, is to approve or diſlike; to ſtir or to calm the paſſions; to magnify or diminiſh things.

The laſt part is the Expreſſion, and whatever regards the Language; and it muſt have five qualities to take, viz. *apt, clear, natural, ſplendid, numerous.*

An Heroic Poem is the Imitation of an Heroic Action: it muſt be *one*, and *ſimple*; *true*, or what paſſes for *true*; and it muſt be *happy, commendable*, and *entire*[o].

[o] Rapin on Homer, vol. II. p. 186.

The Action muſt neither be too vaſt, nor too much limited.

There muſt be a ſimple and ſcrupulous unity of Action.

I take the pleaſure of Poetry to be the profit, as the gilding is to the pill: this makes it go down; for men that would not mind their profit yet purſue their pleaſure, as children would not ſwallow the pill, though it is that which cures them, if it was not gilded [p].

Homer and Virgil chaſte as Veſtals, and virtuous as Philoſophers [q].

Rapin affirms [r], that no man, beſides Virgil and Homer, had the diſcretion to leave a thing when it was well. And in his compariſon of Homer and Virgil [s], he aſſerts Homer to be redundant, and to carry things too far.

He ſays likewiſe [t], that the moſt judicious, the moſt admirable, the moſt perfect, deſign of all antiquity is that of Virgil in the Æneid. All is great and noble, all proportionable to the ſubject, which is the eſtabliſhment of the empire of Rome; to the Hero, who is Æneas; to the glory of Auguſtus and the Romans, for whom it was compoſed. Nothing is weak or defective in the execution; all there is happy, all is juſt, all is perfect.

Yet Homer and Virgil offend againſt probability. Thus Homer makes Stentor's voice louder than that of fifty men; and Virgil makes a bough of gold to grow on a tree [u].

But Homer ſometimes offends (according to Longinus) againſt the manners. He makes the Gods (contrary to their character) obnoxious to wounds, adulteries, and hatred [w].

Great Poetry, ſuch as Epic Poetry, muſt be animated and ſuſtained by great thoughts and great ſentiments: but Homer is *low* on *high* ſubjects, and conſequently faulty. A grave Poem ought to be grave and ſerious; but Homer degenerates into Burleſque [x]: and Homer's battles are liable to cenſure.

Of Didactic Discourses.

Didactic Diſcourſes are maxims and general propoſitions, which contain known truths, and are only applied in the Play,

[p] P. 138. Rapin on Poetry, p. 136, &c.
[q] Fracaſtorius, Syphilis, vol. II. p. 148.
[r] Vol. II. p. 149. [s] In the Firſt Volume. [t] Vol. II. p. 152.
[u] P. 157. [w] P. 159. [x] P. 62.

according

according as the ſubject will allow; tending more to inſtruct the audience in the rules of morality, than to explain any part of the intrigue on foot.

There are two ſorts, Phyſical and Moral ones. The Phyſical make a deſcription of the nature, qualities, or effects, of any thing, without diſtinction; whether natural, or ſupernatural, or artificial compounds. The Moral contain all maxims of Religion, or Politicks, or Oeconomicks, or all inſtructions that regard human life.

Theſe Didactics are in themſelves unfit for the Stage, becauſe they are only inſtructive to the mind, and not moving to the heart; but may be brought on the Stage, if they are brought in a pathetic manner, as Sophocles's are. Hence the pedantic character of a Governor, or Doctor, is diſguſtful to the audience. Theſe often give advice in the midſt of the moſt violent paſſions; which is not the time, nor the Stage the proper place, for theſe inſtructions.

This ſort of deliberations ought to be great, noble, and extraordinarily uncommon; ſuch as Auguſtus's, when he deliberated whether he ſhould lay down or keep the ſceptre.

The motive that brings them upon the Stage ought to be neceſſary and urgent; not only in the perſon deliberating, but in relation to all the perſons concerned in the action.

Theſe deliberations muſt be upheld by ſtrong ſenſe and reaſoning, becauſe they are incapable of any great figures.

We muſt not bring in theſe deliberations when the Stage is in the heat of action and in the depth of intrigues, becauſe they cool the Stage, and defeat the expectation of the audience: nor in the beginning, becauſe then there has not been any paſſion agitated which might produce them; but in the beginning of the ſecond or third act, that they may have ſome foundation upon what is already done, and ſome influence upon what remains to do.

Theſe deliberations ought not to be made all in a breath, without interruption from ſome of the counſellors, for that gives warmth to the coolneſs of the ſtage: and, above all, they ought to be ſhort; for, being void of figures, they will be tedious; but yet I would have the Poet bring in Apoſtrophes, Proſopœias, Hypotipoſes, &c.; in doing which, he muſt uſe much art, figures not regularly entering into deliberation of the Play, whether at the opening of the ſtage, or in the courſe of the action; but abſolutely

ſolutely inſupportable towards the cataſtrophe, becauſe then the ſpectators are impatient to know how the intrigue turns, and are diſpoſed to give out. But a Narration at the opening of the ſtage may be longer than any where elſe, for then the Spectator is freſh. Every Narration ought to quicken the ſtage, and lay the foundation of ſome new paſſion; to obtain which, it muſt be ſhort, pithy, and full of life and warmth.

A Narration may be made two ways, either piece-meal, or all at once. The firſt is the practice of the beſt Poets, and is the beſt, becauſe it leaves the Spectators in expectation of ſome novelty. Theſe Narrations may be made by ſeveral perſons, and at different times. As thus: when he that tells it knows not the whole ſtory; or when part of it is not yet come to paſs; or when he is interrupted by ſome one, though this muſt be done with art.

And Narrations may likewiſe be divided into ſimple and pathetic. The firſt delivers the bare tale; the ſecond exaggerates the circumſtances of the adventure. The firſt ought always to be ſhort; this is often neceſſary, as when Narrations may be made in other parts; but it is dangerous to uſe them in the fourth Act; for you hazard diſcovering the cataſtrophe, which is near, or leaving the Spectators in obſcurity, by delaying it ſo long.

A Narration ſerves to make clear and intelligible, or to adorn, the Dramatic Poem; and therefore they ſhould not be obſcure, and loaded with circumſtances difficult for the audience to retain diſtinctly; ſuch are genealogical ones: or with a great number of names, or a chain of actions embroiled one with another.

And Narrations are tedious and faulty, if they do not contain things neceſſary or agreeable; if they are made with weak and faint expreſſions; and if they be too long.

The length of Narrations may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts. The firſt is, when a Narration is filled with too many incidents and names of perſons or places. The ſecond is, when it contains too many words; as when the circumſtances of an action are too much exaggerated, and particularized in minute and inſignificant things; as when the expreſſions are too full of Epithets, Adverbs, and other unneceſſary terms, with repetitions of the ſame thing, though in a different way.

REMARKS

REMARKS

ON

THE REPUBLICKS[y].

THE Works of theſe Authors are, as it were, the ſchool, or place of exerciſe, in which ſuch young beginners as would eſtabliſh their future actions upon the moſt neceſſary and univerſal foundations ſhould practiſe and improve themſelves before they enter into the more abſtruſe ſtudy of Political Learning.

For there, diſtinctly and at large, they may find all thoſe things treated of, which concern the fundamental and common principles of human ſociety; the regular kinds of common-weals, or their ſeveral depravations; the laws and inſtitutes of government by the people, or Democracy; by the nobility, or Ariſtocracy; by a ſingle perſon, or Monarchy; the riſe, increaſe, change, and fall, of empires; the mutual offices of Prince and Subjects; the rights of Peace and War; the choice of Magiſtrates; the levying of Taxes: and many other things, whoſe ſerious conſideration is requiſite to fortify the minds of ſuch perſons as deſire to be converſant in the adminiſtration of public affairs. They who are fully inſtructed and grounded in theſe precepts, if they would make any farther progreſs, and ſurmount ſuch other difficulties as will occur in this ſort of learning, ſhould frame to themſelves ſome general heads, or common-places, under which they may range the ſeveral matters diſperſed amidſt a confuſed and incredible number of Authors which treat on that ſubject.

Treaties and Leagues made with neighbouring powers, are likewiſe of the greateſt moment to perſons who ſtudy Politicks; for they cannot but be eſteemed very wholeſome and neceſſary for the benefit of commonwealths and princes; whether made to repel the invaſion of an enemy, for preſervation of trade and com-

y A ſet of books which treat of the riſe and fall and policy of ſtates.

merce,

merce, or any other urgent occaſion. I muſt confeſs myſelf to be much troubled and concerned, that I cannot enumerate all thoſe Authors who may have enlarged more conſiderably upon this head; but I well remember that there are many things in the Works of Le Brun [z], which may be uſeful in that matter; and that, amongſt the Politicians, there is a Book of Johannes Boterus, intituled, "La Lega, or the League, &c."

[z] Antony Le Brun, an ambaſſador of Spain, famous for his ſkill as a negotiator. He was born at Dole in 1600, and died at The Hague in 1654. He is ſtyled by Balzac "the Demoſthenes of Dole."

REMARKS

ON

Biſhop WILKINS'S[a] WORLD in the MOON.

IT was inſcribed by Mercurius Britannicus to that worthy and noble Lord Henry Earl of Huntingdon. One Mr. William Knight was the Publiſher of it, who tells us in his Preface, that the reader, without the danger of waves, tempeſts, or the fear of want or ſhipwreck, is conducted ſafe to a *new World*; which, if conſidered as to the largeneſs of the country, the ſituation of the provinces, the habits, manners, and inclinations of the people, appears ſo like the *old one*, that you might doubt at firſt, whether it be *another*, or *the ſame*. It might be imagined that the world in its *old age* had produced an offſpring entirely reſembling itſelf: for, as the Poet ſays,

> " 'Tis from the genial moiſture in the root,
> " That verdant buds proceed, and juicy fruit.
> " So in their ſeed fathers to ſons tranſmit
> " Their vigorous ſtrength and more prevailing wit."

But that the World, which is not only *ſixty* but *ſix thouſand* years old, ſhould *procreate*, is a thing beyond all philoſophy and reaſon: for, had it been endued with that power, the number of *younger Worlds* had been ſo great by this time, that Alexander would have been ſo far from *wanting them*, that they would rather have *wanted* Alexanders to *conquer them*. I am therefore more eaſily induced to think, that the World here deſcribed is that mentioned by the Platoniſts, which the Ancients called the Inviſible and the Ideal World, which has lain hid ſo long till expoſed to the ſight by the help of this Magic Artifice. And yet it

[a] See an account of this Prelate, vol. II. p. 168.—The title of the Book here meant was, " The Diſcovery of a new World; or, a Diſcourſe " tending to prove that it is probable there may be another World in the " Moon; with a Diſcourſe concernimg the Poſſibility of a Paſſage thi- " ther, 1638." 8vo. It was written when he was only 24 years old.

had ſtill remained under that darkneſs, if the Author had had his own deſire: for he, having taken his farewell of all thoſe philological ſtudies, in which he had been an exquiſite maſter, and given himſelf wholly up to the contemplation of Theology, reſolved to ſuppreſs all his former compoſitions which did not tend to that ſubject. In this reſolution he always firmly perſiſted; and therefore the Publiſher complains of any breach of friendſhip that he may ſeem to have made; and deſires the Reader, if he is pleaſed or inſtructed by this Book, to become interceſſor with the Author for his pardon.

CON-

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